

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)  
FROM: SA [REDACTED] b7C  
SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM  
IS - NOI

DATE: 2/18/65

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b2  
b7D  
b7C

36 - Chicago

See ii page for copies

b7C

[REDACTED]  
(36)

100-33593-139

[REDACTED] b7C  
FEB 18 1965  
[REDACTED] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/15/84 BY 8241H/WEB/DD

CG 100-35635

b2  
b7D  
b7C

[REDACTED]

(100-33593 (WATSON LITTLE))

[REDACTED]

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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CG 100-33593-139 pages 1-3

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# Malcolm X 'Not Scared' by Fire Bombing of Home

NEW YORK (AP)—Malcolm X, controversial black nationalist leader whose home was damaged by three gasoline bombs, said, "It doesn't frighten me; it doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up."

Malcolm X, who had advocated a doctrine of Negro "self-defense against white supremacists," fled safely with his wife and four children yesterday after the homemade bombs crashed thru the living room window.

Damage was extensive, but the blaze was quickly extinguished. Police began an investigation.

Authorities believe the Molotov cocktails—bottles filled with gasoline with rags for wicks—were thrown from a car into the 2-story home in Elmhurst, Queens.

The house itself is a center of controversy. Malcolm X began occupying it while he was a leader in the Black Muslim organization. He refused to leave after he broke with the Muslim last year and set up his own group.

Malcolm X left by plane for Detroit a few hours after the blaze to address an Afro-American rally. He said he will return to New York today.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/15/84 BY 2269 JHE/WAB/22

CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 2-15-65

PAGE: 4 COL: 6

EDITOR: LUKE P. CARROLL  
CHICAGO OFFICE

100-33593-134

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 16 1965	
FBI - CHICAGO	

67c

## France Bars

## Malcolm X

LONDON (AP)—Malcolm X, the former Black Muslim leader in the United States, returned to London Tuesday from Paris, where French security officials refused to allow him to enter.

He was to have addressed a rally Tuesday night sponsored by American Negroes and whites in Paris. He said he was given no reason why he was barred from France.

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DATE 2/15/84 BY 8269 JHE/WES/  
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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DATE: 2-9-65

PAGE: 7 COL: 3

EDITION: RED STREAK

EDITOR: CREED C. BLACK

CHICAGO OFFICE

*[Handwritten signature]*

100-33593 ✓  
132

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1965	
FBI - CHICAGO	

*[Redacted area]* b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593)

DATE: 1/29/65

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - MMI

OO: New York

This memo is to advise week end duty personnel that MALCOLM K. LITTLE commonly known as MALCOLM X will be in Chicago from approximately 6:00 p.m., January 29, 1965 through 6:00 p.m., January 30, 1965. During that time he will be under strict Chicago Police Department guard.

[REDACTED] b7D  
[REDACTED] b7C  
Supervisor [REDACTED] should be notified. b7C

The above is furnished for information purposes.

- 1 - ASAC
- 2 - Weekend Complaint Agents
- 1 - Weekend Supervisor
- 1 - S-1 Supervisor

(6) [REDACTED]

b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/15/84 BY 8269 JRE/wes/ao

100-33593-131

JAN 29

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (157-249)

DATE: 1/28/65

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: "PROTEST AT THE POLLS"  
RM

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

3 - New York (157-927) (RAM) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (MALCOLM X LITTLE)

18 - Chicago

[REDACTED]

(1 - 100-33593) (MALCOLM X LITTLE)

[REDACTED]

(21) b7C

100-33593-130

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 28 1965	
FBI-CHICAGO	

b7C

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DATE 2/15/84 BY 926 JHE/WEA/20

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CG 100-33593-130 pages 1, 2

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X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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## Fire Won't Shut Me Up --Malcolm X

NEW YORK (AP)—Malcolm X, controversial black nationalist leader, whose home was damaged by three gasoline bombs, says "it doesn't frighten me; it doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up."

Malcolm X, who had advocated a doctrine of Negro "self defense against white supremacists," fled safely with his wife and four children early Sunday after the homemade bombs crashed through the living room window.

Damage was termed extensive, but the blaze was quickly extinguished. Police began an investigation.

Authorities believe the devices—bottles filled with gasoline with rags for wicks—were hurled from a passing car into the two-story home in Elmhurst, Queens.

The house itself is controversial. Malcolm X began occupying it while he was a leader in the Black Muslim organization. He refused to leave after he broke with the Muslims last year and set up his own group.

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DATE 2/15/84 BY 8269THE/WEB/20

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

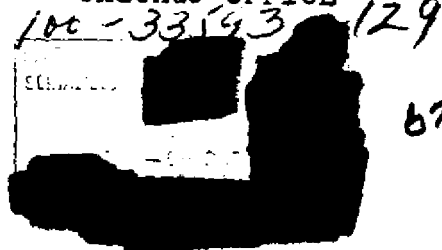
EDITION: RED DART

DATE: 2-15-65

PAGE: 4 COL: 8

EDITOR: CREED C.  
BLACK

CHICAGO OFFICE



# Gasoline Bombs Rip Home Of Malcolm X

**NEW YORK (AP)**—Three gasoline bombs hurled through a living room window early Sunday extensively damaged the home of Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader.

Malcolm X and his wife and two children fled through a rear door of the house to escape injury.

"It could have been done by any one of many," the Negro leader told newsmen in discussing who might have thrown the bomb. "I'm not surprised that it was done."

"It doesn't frighten me. It doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up."

He left by plane a few hours after the fire to address an Afro-American rally in Detroit. He came back Saturday from a European tour.

His wife said many threats had been made against his life recently.

Police said the bombs—bottles filled with gasoline with a rag for a wick—probably were thrown from a passing auto. The blaze turned two of the two-story brick house's

nine rooms into charred shells and also damaged three others. The family was asleep at the time.

The house is located in a mixed Negro and white neighborhood in the Elmhurst section of Queens. It originally was owned by the Black Muslims. Malcolm X began occupying it while he was a leader in the organization and refused to leave after he broke with the Muslims last year.

A judge finally ordered him evicted, but Malcolm contended the dwelling was given to him. Litigation postponed carrying out of the eviction order.

Joseph X, who described himself as a business manager in the Black Muslims, went to the house shortly after the fire and told newsmen:

"We own this place, man."

He was going to be evicted tomorrow. We have money tied up here. We have to hear about it on the radio. He didn't even give us the courtesy of a phone call."

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/15/84 BY 8269THE/WEB/00

CHICAGO SUN TIMES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DATE: 2-15-65

EDITION: FOUR STAR FINAL

PAGE: 5 COL: 1

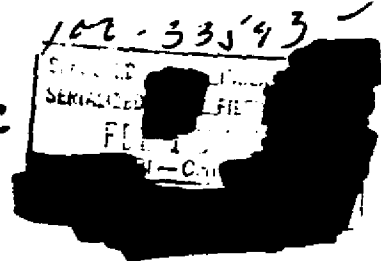
EDITOR: JOHN TREZEVANT

CHICAGO OFFICE

128

5-4

67C





Malcolm X, Black Nationalist leader, arrives by auto at his bombed Queens (N.Y.) home. Burned furniture and household possessions litter the street.

# Malcolm X's Home is Bombed

## Black Nationalist Leader, Family Flee Unhurt

New York, Feb. 14 (AP)—Three gasoline bombs hurled thru a living room window early today extensively damaged the home of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader. Malcolm X and his wife and four children fled thru a rear door of the house to escape injury.

"It could have been done by any one of the many," the Negro leader told reporters in discussing who might have thrown the bomb. "I'm not surprised that it was done. It doesn't frighten me. It doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up."

### Wife Tells Threats

His wife said many threats had been made against his life recently. Malcolm left by plane a few hours after the fire to address an Afro-American rally in Detroit.

Police said the bombs—bottles filled with gasoline with a rag for a wick—probably were thrown from a passing automobile. The blaze turned two of the two-story brick house's nine rooms into charred shells and also damaged three others. The family was asleep at the time.

### Refuses to Leave

The house is located in a mixed-Negro and white neighborhood in the Elmhurst sec-



Malcolm X in front of his home in New York after it was damaged by bomb. (UPI Telephoto)

tion of Queens. It originally was owned by the Black Muslims.

Malcolm X began occupying it while he was a leader in the organization and refused to leave after he broke with the Muslims last year.

A judge ordered him evicted, but the Negro contended the dwelling was given to him. Litigation postponed carrying out of the eviction order.

### Returning Today

Joseph X, who described himself as a business manager in the Black Muslims, went to the house shortly after the fire and told reporters:

"We own this place, man. He was going to be evicted tomorrow. We have money tied up here. We have to hear about it on the radio. He didn't even

give us the courtesy of a phone call."

The black nationalist leader, who has advocated a doctrine of Negro "self defense against white supremacists," said he would return to New York tomorrow.

"I intend to point out to the people of New York who I think is behind this and what will develop from it, if something is not done about it," he said.

He came back yesterday from a European trip. Commenting on the refusal of France to allow him entry to make a speech, He said: "Gen. de Gaulle had too much gall in keeping me out of France." French immigration officials said his presence was undesired.

b7c  
Index - Photo

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DATE 2/15/84 BY 8269TNE/WBC/02

CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

EDITION: 3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 2-15-65

PAGE: 3 COL: 4 SEC: 1

EDITOR: W.D. MAXWELL

CHICAGO OFFICE

100-33543-127

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FEB 15 1965  
FBI - CHICAGO

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February 4, 1965

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442235)  
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-66466) (RUC)  
RE : ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY  
IS - MISC  
OO: New York.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/6/84 BY 8212 JHE/  
Webb

Re New York airtel 1/7/65, Buairtel 1/14/65, and  
Los Angeles teletype, 1/29/65.

Enclosed for the Bureau, New York Chicago, and  
Philadelphia are 8, 3, 3, and 1 copies, respectively, of a  
letterhead memorandum (LHM) relating to a trip by MALCOLM  
LITTLE to Los Angeles, his flight to Chicago, and a report he will  
start a Mosque in Los Angeles.

62 The sources used in the LHM are in the order of their  
67C usage and [redacted]  
67D [redacted] who is con-  
cealed by request.

- 67D [redacted]  
67C [redacted]
- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (Air Mail - Registered)
  - 3 - New York (Encs. 3) (Air Mail - Registered)
  - ③ - Chicago (Encs. 3) (Air Mail - Registered)
  - 1 - Philadelphia (Enc. 1) (Air Mail - Registered)
  - 3 - Los Angeles (100-66466)
    - (1 - 105-2604) (NOI)
    - (1 - 100-65527) (MMI)

LHE:HMS  
(13)

100-33593-  
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SERIALIZED FILED  
FEB 10 1965  
CHICAGO

1 copy in  
100-41248 (OAAU)  
4-1 in 100-24635 (NOI)

67C [redacted]  
(1) Handle lead  
out of Malcolm's file which  
is opened + reply under OAAU

LA 100-66466

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] which indicated that MALCOLM would visit a State Attorney General when he arrived in Chicago. When Chicago was notified that two Muslims kept MALCOLM under observation and of the precaution taken against the planting of a bomb on the airplane, that department said they would increase their guard detail from two to six officers.

b7C

In addition to the information furnished by [REDACTED] in the LHM, he emphasized his belief that MALCOLM is really scared and that he feels one of MUHAMMAD's devoted followers will kill him. [REDACTED] also mentioned that MALCOLM was very talkative even though he knew [REDACTED] as a former policeman, and he said he believes that MALCOLM will talk to FBI agents.

Negative informants:

[REDACTED] orally on 1/26/65, to SA [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED] orally on 2/2/65, to SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] orally on 1/20/65, to SA [REDACTED]

One copy of the LHM is designated as information for the Philadelphia Office, since MALCOLM departed Los Angeles on Flight Number 26 en route to New York.

LEADS:

CHICAGO OFFICE:

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: Develop activity by MALCOLM in Chicago.

Los Angeles has alerted informants to report any information indicating MALCOLM has started any organization in Los Angeles.

LA 100-66466

This LHM has been classified confidential because data furnished by the sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.



# Malcolm X Says Negro May Have to Use Force

Daily News Wire Services

SELMA, Ala.—Hundreds of Negro students, called together for another civil rights demonstration, heard a prediction from black nationalist leader Malcolm X Thursday that the campaign for racial equality may be forced to abandon its nonviolent image.

The former Black Muslim leader's unexpected visit to Selma delayed the scheduled resumption of right-to-vote marches, but in neighboring Perry County, Negroes continued their demonstrations and about 200 more were arrested.

Dr. MARTIN Luther King Jr., who has led the civil rights movement in Alabama, remained in jail for the fourth day. His wife Coretta came here from Atlanta in hopes of visiting him in his cell.

Mrs. King, who was born in Perry County, also spoke to the student assembly in a Selma church and commended the teenagers "for the courageous job you are doing."

She was accompanied by Mrs. Ralph Abernathy, whose husband is one of Dr. King's top lieutenants and who is in jail with him.

MALCOLM X told the cheering Selma students, who were absent from their classrooms, that "the white man should thank God that Dr. King has held his people in check because there are others who don't feel that way."

He predicted that unless white Southerners—and leaders in the federal government as well—"are intelligent enough" to give the Negro equal rights without violence, there are others who are ready to lead a different kind of movement.

He said Negroes would be justified in using whatever means they can to get their rights.

AT MARION, the Perry County seat 30 miles west of Selma, the demonstrating Negroes, most of whom were adults, were arrested by city police, sheriff's deputies and white troopers as they marched from a church toward the county courthouse.

In Washington, a congressional delegation made plans for visiting the Selma area, where spreading demonstra-

tions have led to a near all-time high in civil rights arrests.

Nearly 2,800 persons have been arrested in the voter registration and desegregation drive here since it was begun by Dr. King Jan. 10.

THERE WERE these other developments in the first big civil rights push of 1965:

• Circuit Court Judge James A. Hare in Selma issued an order forbidding demonstrations in and around the Dallas County Courthouse, charging that such marches in the last 10 days had interfered with his court proceedings.

• U.S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas in Mobile refused to issue an order blocking the arrest of demonstrators in Selma by city police and also refused to order officials to set up more liberal voter registration procedures.

• Roswell Falkenberg, publisher of the Selma Times-Journal, called on President Johnson and members of the Alabama Congressional delegation for a Congressional investigation in Selma.

• Dallas County officials said that 113 Negroes took voter registration tests in January during the 12 days the office was open, with 60 of them being examined last Monday. Officials said it takes about three weeks to grade the tests and no results were available.

• The Gadsden Times said editorially local registrars should not be blamed if voter registration is too slow or too difficult. The Times said a set of special questions prepared by the State Supreme Court is the source of blame.

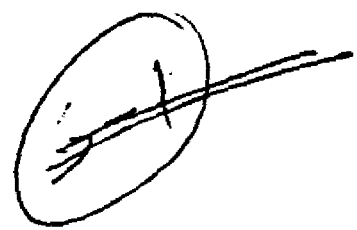
The congressional delegation made plans in Washington to visit Selma to observe voter registration efforts.

"I'm not trying to create a situation or test anything," said Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) in announcing the visit which has no sanction by Congress itself.

"We probably won't even stay overnight, so there won't be any question of use of public accommodations."

"Our object is to survey the situation under which some persons apparently are finding

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DATE: 2-4-65

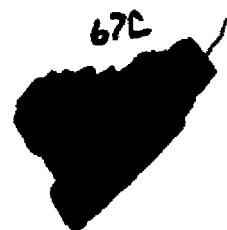
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EDITOR: GREGG C. BLACK  
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CHICAGO OFFICE

100-335793-123

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SERIALIZED FILED  
FEB 5 1965



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it impossible even to attempt to register," Hawkins said.

Others expected to make the trip are Reps. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.), Herbert Tenzer (D-N.Y.), Don Edwards (D-Calif.), Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.) and Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.).

Conyers, Diggs and Powell are Negroes.

**THE REV.** Andrew Young, one of Dr. King's directors in the mass demonstrations, said he had telephoned John Doar, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, to "do something immediately" about conditions at a nearby state prison camp.

Young described two Negro girls released from the camp Wednesday night as being "hysterical" and quoted them as saying arrested teen-agers were packed into a building without enough room to sit or lie down and that the heat had been turned off.

Young said Doar promised to send a Justice Department attorney to investigate.

SIGHTS AND SCENES . . . Malcolm X, with police  
guard, quietly leaving Chicago yesterday morning.

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DATE 2/15/84 BY 8269JHE/WES/DD

CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 2-1-65

PAGE: 7 COL: 1

EDITOR: LUKE P. CARROLL  
CHICAGO OFFICE

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FEB 1 1965  
FBI - CHICAGO

W. Former Black  
Muslim Malcolm X, during his weekend visit, was given police  
protection because of a number of threats on his life.

CHICAGO SUNDAY

SUN TIMES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

*Four-Star* EDITION

DATE 1-31-65

PAGE 50 COL

EDITOR EMMETT DEDMON

CHICAGO OFFICE

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100-33593-

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FBI - CHICAGO	
b7c	

THE TOPICS WILL RANGE from Dr. Albert Schweitzer  
to comedy on our Ch. 7 Kup's Show Saturday midnight, with  
such guests as Dr. Schweitzer's daughter, Mrs. Rhema Eckert;  
the controversial ~~Dr. Schweitzer~~ X;

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DATE 2/15/84 BY 8269JHE/wec/dd

CHICAGO SUN TIMES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DATE: 1-29-65

EDITION: FOUR STAR FINAL

PAGE: 46 COL: 1

EDITOR: JOHN TREZEVANT

CHICAGO OFFICE

2-2

67c

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100-33593

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

# Malcolm X Warns Violence May Come

BY DON MCKEE

SELMA, Ala. (AP)—Hundreds of Negro students, called together for another civil rights demonstration, heard a prediction from black nationalist leader Malcolm X today that the campaign for racial equality may be forced to abandon its nonviolent image.

The former Black Muslim leader's unexpected visit to Selma delayed the scheduled resumption of right to vote marches, but in neighboring Perry county, Negroes continued their demonstrations and about 200 more were arrested.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who has led the civil rights movement in Alabama, remained in jail for the fourth day. His wife, Coretta, came here from Atlanta in hopes of visiting him in his cell.

Mrs. King also spoke to the student assembly in a Selma church and commended the teen-agers "for the courageous job you are doing."

She was accompanied by Mrs. Ralph Abernathy, whose husband is one of King's top lieutenants and who is in jail with him.

## Cheering Students

Malcolm X told the cheering Selma students, who were absent from their classrooms, that "the white man should thank God Dr. King has held his people in check because there are others who don't feel that way."

He predicted that unless white southerners—and leaders in the federal government as well—"are intelligent enough" to give the Negro equal rights without violence, there are others who are ready to lead

a different kind of movement.

He said Negroes would be justified in using whatever means they can to get their rights if the nonviolent campaign fails.

At Marion, the Perry county seat 30 miles west of Selma, the demonstrating Negroes, most of whom were adults, were arrested by city police, sheriff's deputies and state troopers as they marched from a church toward the county courthouse.

Nearly 500 demonstrators were jailed yesterday in Selma and Marion. The swelling numbers forced authorities to house prisoners at a state prison camp near here and a jail in Thomaston, Ala.

## 500 Still in Jail

At least 500 of the total number still are behind bars. However authorities could not provide an exact figure of those still in jail from arrests in both cities.

Negro students released from custody said last night they were kept in unheated and unlighted cells. Police denied this.

Still other Alabama cities and towns are targets in the massive campaign which King started 17 days ago to dramatize the voter registration effort in counties where Negroes outnumber white residents but comprise only a fractional part of the voting strength.

King's forces met legal obstacles at state and federal levels yesterday. United States District Court Judge Daniel H. Thomas of Mobile turned down a request for an order compelling the Dallas county board of registrars to meet more often.

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# Malcolm X Admits Error of Ways, Calls Muhammad 'Faker'

BY M. S. HANDLER

(A NEW YORK TIMES SPECIAL)

NEW YORK—Malcolm X has renounced the philosophy of racism and has denounced Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, as a religious "faker."

In two long letters from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to a friend in New York, Malcolm X said he has embraced the brotherhood of man and "shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who thru my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him [Elijah Muhammad] even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

## Found Own Group

The erstwhile national spokesman of the Black Muslim movement broke with Elijah Muhammad this year and founded his own nonsectarian nationalist organization. He has spent many months in Mecca studying with the grand imams of Islam and working with the Muslim World league.

In a letter dated Sept. 22, Malcolm wrote:

"For 12 long years I lived within the narrow-minded confines of the 'strait-jacket world' created by my strong belief that Elijah Muhammad was a messenger direct from God Himself, and my faith in what I now see to be a pseudo-religious philosophy that he preached. But as his then most faithful disciple, I represented and defended him at all levels and, in most instances, even beyond the level of intellect and reason.

## MALCOLM X

Letter from Mecca

## He Vows Amends

"I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who thru my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him even more fanatically and more blindly than I did. If western society had not gone to such extremes to block out the knowl-

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edge of true Islam, there would not be such a religious 'vacuum' among American Negroes today into which any religious-faker can bring all forms of distorted religious concoctions and represent it to our unsuspecting people as True Islam.

"I declare emphatically," Malcolm continued, "that I am no longer in Elijah Muhammad's 'strait-jacket,' and I don't intend to replace his with one woven by someone else. I am a Muslim in the mos orthodox sense; my religion is Islam as it is believed in and practiced by the Muslims here in the holy city of Mecca.

#### Tells Islam Beliefs

"This religion recognizes all men as brothers. It accepts all human beings as equals before God, and as equal members in the human family of mankind. I totally reject Elijah Muhammad's racist-philosophy which he has labeled 'Islam' only to fool and misuse gullible people, as he fooled and misused me. But I blame only myself, and no one else, for the fool that I was, and the harm that my evangelistic foolishness in his behalf has done to others."

Malcolm wrote that he is not anti-American, un-American, seditious, nor subversive, but an open-minded man trying to weigh everything objectively.

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# Malcolm X — The Meaning of His Life

By Charles G. Hurst Jr.

Wednesday is the birthday of Malcolm X, Shabazz, born Malcolm Little, who was assassinated Feb. 21, 1965, in New York City.

The legend of his life and his message are continuing to grow in a way that represents a phenomenon of our time.

The legend of Malcolm X is a chronicle of a major part of the contemporary American scene that is unfamiliar to too many millions of white Americans.

The message of Malcolm X is primarily a message to his black brothers and sisters; his co-partners in the social scene locked in by invisible walls of prejudice, discrimination, intolerance, and race hatred. But it is also a message to the whites of the nation who appear stunned by the emergence of the black man as a figure of militant protest and reform.

The answer is implied in his message for all those who ask why the rebellions across the nation? Why the demands for economic as well as social equality? Why are black people seeking control of strong black communities rather than integration into strong white communities?

## His Appeal to Black Youth

The very strength of the man—his indomitable will, his flexibility, his humanity, and his sense of purpose—was the dominant factor in his appeal to black youth. This appeal grows stronger each day. His life, principles, hopes, and great humanity have become the inspiration for the college on Chicago's West Side that bears his name.

Malcolm X El-Hadji Malik Shabazz is first nominee of black youth honored for black youth the greatest hero of modern times. Not Martin Luther King, nor any other black man acknowledged in his leadership by whites has won the admiration of black youths as has the incomparable black leader, known in his earlier life as "Big Red."

The story of Malcolm X is the story of the black man in America. A one-time peddler, hustler, and convict

king much formal education, he

learned to dramatize the condition of the black and other oppressed people. Sometimes critical, sometimes gentle, but always true, the voice of Malcolm X painted a true picture of the black man. His brush missed nothing as it swept across the canvas of life in America. Nonviolence, self-determination, nationhood, Pan-Africanism, the role of the black man today, black pride, religion—the black man, he told all in stark realism about his people and their plight.

The white community believed that Malcolm X during his life was an irreversible black racist committed to terroristic designs. He is still viewed by many whites in his death as a symbol of race hate to be feared rather than respected, hated rather than admired.

Malcolm's articulate portraits of the black-white conflict and his incisive descriptions of white exploitation of black humanity endeared him to most black Americans long before white America became remotely aware of his broad appeal.

Quite obviously, black and whites view Malcolm X differently.

At first glance, one might assign the paradox represented by the contrasting white-black views on Malcolm X to the usual plethora of such disagreements affecting most, if not all, racially different views of life in the country. But, if not different in kind, this particular conflict certainly differs in degree from all others.

It seems imperative if the two groups, white and black, are ever to find a common ground for resolution of issues of race, white America must gain insights into the man who would be the first nominee of black youth honored with a national holiday commemorating his birth.

In his earlier life, Malcolm X was all of the things cited by white people, of the many of whom sighed with relief upon his assassination. In his later life, he became all of the things that have immortalized him in the minds of black youth. The dichotomy of his life is illustrated by his statement:

"In the past I made . . . sweeping

indictments of all white people, the entire white race, and these generalizations have caused injuries to some whites who perhaps did not deserve to be hurt. Because of the spiritual enlightenment which I was blessed to receive as the result of my recent pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca, I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of any one race."

## His Spiritual Struggle

The following is another example of the spiritual struggle that contributed so much to his development:

"If I can die having brought any light, having exposed any meaningful truth that will help to destroy the racist cancer that is malignant in the body of America—then, all of the credit is due to Allah. Only the mistakes have been mine."

Even Malcolm X's younger life has positive overtones for black youth because his life was the black experi-

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face personified.

He was fiercely determined on this point, as the following often quoted statement shows:

"When you hear me say by any means necessary I mean exactly that. I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions—political, economic, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it—as long as it's intelligently directed and designed to get results."

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X" is fast becoming one of the most important social documents of the 20th century. Sales, still on the rise, total 1,735,500 copies. Schools in every strata of society are adopting it as a textbook in such classes as English, composition, social science, literature, and a variety of courses in sociology and humanism.

The book is as likely to be the textbook in a freshman level high school class as in a senior level college class. It has also served as the basis for graduate studies and innumerable doctoral dissertations.

### Forged New Concepts

No library of any note can call its collection complete without a copy of this book about a black man who dared the wrath of black and white America alike as he forged new concepts of human rights, and delineated the basic issues involved in a struggle for dignity, justice, and freedom all over the world.

The unbelievable impact of the book, immense as it is, pales beside the even more unbelievable impact of the man. Unbelievable, that is, when one considers the facts of life in America as they relate to a black ex-convict labeled a hustler, and worse, and converted as a Muslim in the Nation of Islam and ultimately to the Moslem religion.

In a ministry that lasted 12 years and for which he prepared all of his life, even the unknowingly for most of it, Malcolm X created new levels of hope for millions who had come to despair man's potential for reversing a racing trend toward inhumanity and ultimate extinction.

While so many whites believed that Malcolm spoke for a few blacks and Martin Luther King spoke for many, millions of his race were tingling before their television sets exhorting him to "give them hell" when he spoke of the effects of implacable white racism on black people.

For the youth, Malcolm came to represent renewed manhood in a society which systematically brutalizes black manhood. He was symbolic of an unquenchable desire for freedom. His unrelenting stance on questions of justice, equality, and freedom, appealed to their fierce indignation over their frustrating condition.

In his fiery alternatives, spoken often in the flaming rhetoric of potential violence, youth found reconciliation for their inherent concern with humanity, and their newly awakened belief that freedom is a right that must be "taken" if withheld—taken, as Malcolm phrased it, "by any means necessary."

Malcolm was admired also because he was an extraordinarily clear thinker with a penchant for synthesizing political and philosophical ideas accurately and succinctly. He studied and distilled black thought published over 100 years, and found identification with all oppressed people.

A realist of the first order, Malcolm was still a romanticist who loved people while appreciating life. Youth could sense this. Youth could also sense his identification with idealistic principles no longer prominent in the philosophies of most American leaders. Here was a deeply religious man who always maintained the symbol of his ministry while he pointed a piercing finger of accusation at racist-dominated institutions eroding the foundations of the nation's existence.

Above all, young blacks today continue to identify with Malcolm's determined humanism. His belief that every man's right to be human is nonnegotiable confirmed the rightness of their suspicions that the yoke of their oppression was an injustice that should be thrown off even if their alternatives were reduced to violence.

The years of Malcolm's early manhood were spent in the way that most young black men spent their time in those days and to a large extent in these days also. Malcolm spoke of these experiences in words that are universal—ly understood, tho often in different ways, by all who can or want to

empathize with this period in the country's history. He was seeking and suffering while he sought. He was at the same time negotiating one of the most agonizing phases of the black experience in America, a time when all the promise of America was revealed for what it only

was plagued by an identity confusion. This was the pursuit of an ideal that he could never fully achieve, because it required him to lose the blackness serving as a major basis for his second class status and become as white as circumstances and nature might allow.

This was a period in the '30s and '40s, when many black Americans were trying to do the same thing. Bleaching creams to make the skin lighter and lye-based concoctions to make hair straighter were big sellers among a people who usually didn't have enough money for proper food, clothing or housing. The reason? An unquenchable belief that to lose the curse of blackness was to open new doors of opportunity for full participation in the benefits promised by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

### Approach Bound to Fail

Such an approach, as psychology tells us over and over again, is bound to fail. It can only lead to frustration, self-degradation, and a burning hatred spewing in all directions.

To some it may also seem strange that most black youth chose Malcolm as a "messiah" without choosing the religion that he selected as his own. Rejecting Christianity because of its intimate involvement with every stage of their suffering, they have not, for the most part, accepted the religious alternative that apparently contributed so much to the spiritual reclamation of their new hero.

Resolution of this issue may still be long in coming. On the other hand it may be that Malcolm himself, his creed and his beliefs, are the spiritual foundation upon which a new religion is already being built. Time will tell.

In any event, contributing to a resurrection of basic human values in a way that few recognized initially, this man has begun now to emerge as one of the greatest humanists the world has ever known. Even now there are those who speak of him with the same reverence accorded Christianity's Jesus

The mystery of how this all came about is intertwined in a complex way with the many paradoxes and contradictions that have been a part of this country's history from its beginning. The start of this saga of destiny was the birth of Malcolm X, ironically, in the state of Nebraska where matters of race

Malcolm X, like all black Americans have been viewed historically as the



opposite of conditions in Mississippi.

### Klan Warns Father

In his autobiography, Malcolm describes days just before his birth when members of the Ku Klux Klan of Omaha descended upon his father's home threatening to do him bodily harm if he did not cease "stirring up" the local "Negroes."

His father was ultimately killed in Lansing, Mich., by the notorious Black Legion, a white terrorist organization similar to the KKK.

The autobiography also describes an early youth of turmoil and struggle: "My mother ... seemed to be always working -- cooking, washing, ironing, cleaning, and fussing over us eight children. ... My father's skull ... was crushed in ... His body was cut almost in half ... I was six ... there were times when we would be so hungry we were dizzy ... when I began to get caught stealing ... she [my mother] would whip me ... my mother suffered a complete breakdown [and] remained in the same [mental] hospital for twenty-six years ... I wasn't really surprised when I was expelled [from school] ... my English teacher ... said ... you've got to be realistic about being a nigger ... why don't you play on carpentry [not law] ... I worked washing dishes."

Part of his later youth was spent in Roxbury, Mass., in relative affluence [for black people, that is], but without relief from the psychological confusion inspired by the profusion of contradictions one finds in any black community.

"I saw those Roxbury Negroes acting and living differently from any black people I'd ever seen in my life ... I thought I was seeing ... high-class, educated, important Negroes."

Reflecting later on this he concluded that:

"What I was really seeing was only a big-city version of those successful Negro bootblacks and janitors back in Lansing." He viewed these persons as part of the syndrome where black people were supposed to strive with all in them to become the biggest and most important "inferior" people in town.

"The truth was that eight out of 10 of the Hill Negroes of Roxbury, despite the impressive sounding job titles they effected, actually worked as menials and servants," Malcolm said.

### Brings Back Memories

As a shoeshine boy, dancer, hustler, debater on a variety of issues, especially and gambler, Malcolm lived his way through the streets of Boston and later, Harlem. His description of the experience of other prisoners to Malcolm's ences of those days creates a twinge of nostalgia on the part of thousands of black readers who lived in the same way at the same time and do to this day. The painful reality of what he said brings back memories to many readers with such sharp abruptness that it feels as if a knife is being plunged into the insides of one's soul. It is not unusual for a black reader to feel sorrow, hatred, anxiety, or fear as life in the ghetto is depicted in all of its garish reality.

The humor and pathos, sustaining factors in black survival, are also in his book ... in the people: "Cadillac Drake," "Sammy the Pimp," "Dollar-bill" and his "Kansas City Roll," "Few-clothes" the pickpocket, "Jumpsteady" the burglar, "Creole Bill," and "Chicago Red [Redd Fox]." In a startling way, the book is the life of all black people as well as the life of an individual man. Malcolm's life as a black youth in a major urban center led eventually to a 10-year sentence at the Charlestown prison in Massachusetts.

As the autobiography points out, life in prison started out to be simply an extension of life in the streets. But he overcame temptations of a prison with more evils than the streets and turned instead to a library for knowledge. His understandable rage began to settle into a more calculating pattern. Undergirding the struggling rebirth of a soul in torment was a searching need for a spiritual foundation on which a philosophy of life could be constructed. This need was fulfilled shortly after his transfer to Concord prison by his conversion to the Nation of Islam as a follower of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. He was converted to the orthodox Islam religion before his death.

Despite the persecution by prison officials growing out of their negative attitude towards Muslims, Malcolm persevered both in the study of his new religion and in the quest for knowledge.

In addition to his voracious reading in prison, Malcolm began to demonstrate his talent as a leader of men. Instructors who taught at the prison from such prestigious schools as Boston University and Harvard University found him also a formidable opponent in

### Difference Between the Two

He saw with a revealing clarity the difference between segregation and separation. Segregation he described as a condition of life forced upon a people, regulated from the outside. Separation was described as a condition entered into voluntarily by two equals for the good of both.

The penetrating insights of Malcolm, steeped as they were in bitterness, were revealed in the statement that, "All of us who might have probed space, or cured cancer, or built industries were, instead, black victims of the white man's American social system."

He noted that instead of social contributions that would build humanity, we have a situation where in "every big city ghetto tens of thousands of yesterday's and today's school dropouts are keeping body and soul together by some form of hustling."

Malcolm gave to black youth a description that would have been both apt and appreciated by this writer at the age of 16 years: "Hustler, uneducated, unskilled at anything honorable, but nifty and cunning enough to live by wits, exploiting every prey."

Even while in prison, Malcolm spoke of how black people were taught to be ashamed of their blackness, and how their shame led them to become instruments of their own victimization in an almost unbelievable variety of ways. His understanding of how the success image for black people was always a white ideal, made white listeners writhe then as later, when he articulated this understanding in the quiet but firm language of a man who had begun to transcend the destiny originally conceived for him.

Malcolm devised a learning style in prison that was uniquely suited for an intelligent being deprived of some of the

learning tools considered indispensable for success in the usual traditional settings. He virtually devoured a college level dictionary. He would read aloud from his own writing until the page was memorized. The ironwilled discipline is obvious.

### Equivalent of College

In prison he developed for himself the equivalent of a college education with a major in humanities. Malcolm was released on parole, Aug. 9, 1952, to begin his actual ministry of black liberation. This was a mission of humanitarian fulfillment, undertaken with a sense of zealous commitment that could erupt only from a deeply religious base.

The guiding precepts of his new life were basic to his continued development as a model for the new kind of black man he hoped to create in liberating the old kind of Negro from his "slave mentality." He believed that "heaven and hell were conditions of life endured by people right here on earth; the black man will never get respect until he learns to respect his woman; freedom, justice, and equality will come about for black people when they become willing to pay any price necessary to get them; black people must turn their backs on tobacco, liquor, narcotics, dancing, gambling, movies, lying, stealing, and domestic quarrelling."

His enthusiastic dedication was tempered by the knowledge that, "no true leader burdens his following with a greater load than they can carry, and no true leader sets too fast a pace for his followers to keep up."

Malcolm believed that one of the white man's tricks was to keep the black race divided and fighting each other. "This has traditionally kept black people from achieving the ability which was the worst need of the black race in America," he said. His autobiography documents the extent of America's failure in the area of black-white relations as he saw it: "The Western world's most learned diplomats have failed to solve this grave race problem. Her learned legal experts have failed. Her sociologists have failed. Her civil leaders have failed. Her fraternal leaders have failed."

### His Critical Views

The way that white America viewed the nation of Islam [Black Muslims] did much to thrust Malcolm into the spotlight as he expounded his scathing indictment of America for her failure to eliminate racism as a national char-

acteristic. He was under constant surveillance.

His incomprehensibility for white critics was an extension of the lack of information by most whites about black America's people. "I would hate to be general of an army as badly informed as the American white man has been about the Negro," he said.

Travel abroad did much to modify Malcolm's perspective on race and human conflict. Thru trips all over Africa and the Moslem world, he developed a new outlook on the colonialistic existence of black Americans. He came to see that the condition of black people was closely related to the plight of other have-nots -- the browns, the reds, and even poor whites. His plea became an orchestration on the rights of man.

It was Malcolm who helped black youth understand that revolution must take place in oneself before he can function correctly to help others. Youth learned that the truly revolutionary struggle is not based on strategy and tactics alone, but on truth. It is from truth and truth alone that black youth must operate. That must be his base; his motive for struggle, his will to survive.

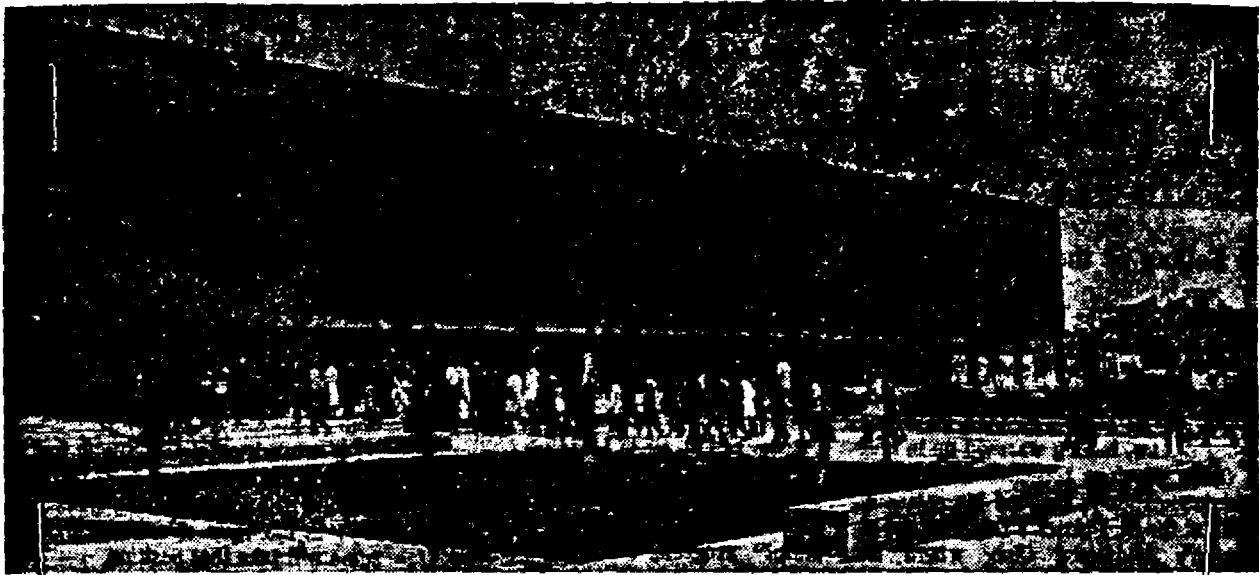
Malcolm was saying essentially that leadership involves responsibility for being a man renewed in spirit, mind, and body. A man must inspire people and his actions must give a glimpse of what lies ahead. He gives clear direction in work, deed, and in his very being. He is patient, considerate, helpful, compassionate, strong and uncompromising.



Dr. Charles G. Hurst Jr.



Malcolm X



The new Malcolm X College campus at 1900 W. Van Buren St.

Tribune Staff Photo by Walter Allen

# Slain leader's widow speaks

## Why Malcolm X stands as symbol to U.S. blacks

BY BARBARA REYNOLDS

"YES I'M an extremist. The black race here in North America is in extremely bad condition. You show me a black man who isn't an extremist and I'll show you one who needs psychiatric attention." (El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz—Malcolm X).

Six years ago, a former pimp, robber and hustler and now one of the most learned critics of international oppression of black people stood in an auditorium in Harlem and predicted:

"You think I'm radical. . . . Well, unless conditions are changed one day there will be people rising up so much more radical that you'll think I'm a moderate."

The audience response was a nervous laughter.

The conditions didn't change and the nerves of America have never settled since these words were spoken.

ASSASSINS' bullets silenced the man known to black people as Brother Malcolm on Feb. 21, 1965. But the Raps, the Stokelys, the Charles Evers, the Panthers and countless others would make his words live.

Perhaps the one person who knows most of what Malcolm X means to black people is the woman who shared his life for 7 years, 6 weeks and 3 days—his widow, Mrs. Hajjah Bahiyah Betty Shabazz.

In an exclusive interview with CHICAGO TODAY, Mrs. Shabazz, who is in Chicago today for the dedication of new campuses of Malcolm X College, said:

"To the middle class, he meant a break suffering from a lack of psychological and moral commitment, my husband stands as a source of strength.

To the middle-class, he meant a break from the cocktail circuit toward those things relevant.

He was corrupted by society, but he rose above society. He stands as a symbol to black youth that if Malcolm could make it, so can I.

"BLACK PEOPLE respect Malcolm because he was sincere and highly disciplined. He had vowed to dedicate his time and energy to that part of humanity that was without. To him, man was supposedly born free and he felt freedom was non-negotiable."

Malcolm once said: "Anytime I have a religion that won't let me fight for my people, I say to hell with that religion."

He broke with the Black Muslims in January, 1964, four months before making a pilgrimage to Mecca, the Orthodox Muslim's Holy Land.

The fiery leader then formed a nonsectarian group, called the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), whose goals included lifting the civil rights struggle from America and connecting it with the human rights struggle of the world.

As a sunni Muslim, Mrs. Shabazz explained, Malcolm X believed in Pan-Africanism, which calls for freedom by any means necessary of all people of African descent.

"IF YOU go against an established political or religious system, you will be on the outside searching for solutions to problems unanswered for 500 years. But Malcolm was a strong man. He persisted in his beliefs. The only way to break him was to kill him."

She was there beside his body, the day her husband was fatally wounded on the stage of Harlem's Audubon Ballroom by 13 shotgun pellets from three men reportedly associated with the Black Muslims—a fate he predicted in his book, "The Autobiography of Malcolm X."

Today, 6 years later, she said that Malcolm X is still a threat to some groups—even from the grave.

"There are many in this country who believe like Malcolm," she said. "They, too, are resentful of the residue of slavery."

"Like Malcolm," she said, "there are many blacks who cannot accept improper

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housing, education and the lack of justice: they can't accept an entire anthropological grouping being denied these things forever and forever.

THIS IS a man. Malcolm looked into the future and saw the black man forever doomed to slavery, but there was no wall too high or too thick for him to persevere in penetrating it. There are many like him.

Malcolm often explained: "All I am doing is holding up a mirror to reflect, to show the history of unspeakable crimes that the white race has committed against my race."

Mrs. Shabazz, as a teacher, a lecturer and mother of six children, including twins, is also dedicated to the goals of her husband.

She is a graduate student at a New York university and holds positions with two day care centers in New York.

She continued: "I favor a pluralistic society over integration, which allows a dominate culture to take over the culture of a minority."

"Whites cannot have all the rights. I believe in reciprocity. Both blacks and whites respecting the rights ordained by God and legislated by man."

"God does not discriminate. The rain and the sun fall on all of us. If God does not discriminate, what right has man?" she asked.

THE REALITIES of life which Mrs. Shabazz often speaks of was shown to her by her husband who, altho he spoke like a Harvard graduate, gained his diploma in the streets of Detroit and Harlem.

"I came from a typical middle class family," she said. "My parents had help, two cars and we owned real estate. Before I met Malcolm I viewed blackness from a strictly middle class level where you don't get involved with the masses."

"Malcolm changed that. If I had not met him I would still be wandering around in an unreal world trying to function by someone else's yardstick. He helped me find myself and to know what was expected of me as a black woman, whether I accomplished it or not."



SISTER BETTY



Widow of Malcolm X looks on as religious leader in traditional Islamic garb chants a prayer during graveside services. Malcolm X was slain in 1965.

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NATIONAL DAY FOR BLACK UNITY  
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## TWO STUDIOS PLAN MALCOLM X FILMS

James Baldwin and Louis  
Lomax Writing Scripts

By VINCENT CANBY

Hollywood apparently regards Malcolm X as a hot box-office property. Two motion-picture companies are rushing plans for major films based on the life of the black nationalist leader, born Malcolm Little, who was assassinated here Feb. 21, 1965.

Columbia Pictures, which owns the rights to "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," hopes to begin production in the fall with a script now being written by James Baldwin. Sidney Poitier has been mentioned as the possible star, although all parties connected with the project refuse to comment.

At the same time, 20th Century-Fox is planning to start production late this summer on "Malcolm X," based on an original screenplay being written by Louis Lomax, a newspaperman and television commentator.

The possibility that two films about Malcolm X might be ready for release at about the same time does not seem to be deterring either company.

### 'Hot' Summer Feared

An executive at Fox said Thursday that "the only thing that would persuade us not to go ahead would be our inability to come up with a good script." A Columbia official said simply that "the project is fraught with peril," but this, apparently, was in reference to what might happen to the project should the warnings of violent racial unrest materialize this summer.

The two companies have, however, been sparring rather discreetly over their rival films. Last week an arbitration committee of the Motion Picture Association of America's title registration bureau gave Columbia the right to use the title, "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," for its film although Fox had earlier registered its intention to make a film called "Malcolm X."

The title registration bureau has no legal authority, but the film association's member companies, in an attempt to forestall the use of similar and duplicate film titles (and, indirectly, film stories), register titles with the bureau and receive priority on their use.

The Fox spokesman suggested that the reason that Columbia was given the right to use its title, even though it was registered after Fox's, was because "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" belongs to a copyrighted work. That book, written in collaboration with Alex Haley, was published by Grove Press in October, 1965.

Reached Thursday in Hollywood, Marvin Worth, who will produce "The Autobiography" for Columbia, had another explanation: "I have just one thing to say. I submitted [The Autobiography of Malcolm X] to Fox before submitting it to Columbia."

David Brown, a Fox vice president and the director of story operations, confirmed this, but said that at that time Fox already was working on its own original treatment of the Malcolm X story "although that was not conveyed to Mr. Worth at the time."

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, is cooperating with Mr. Baldwin on the preparation of the Columbia screenplay and has given the film company the exclusive right to portray her in the forthcoming film.

Although Columbia executives would not disclose how much had been paid for "The Autobiography," they said that Mrs. Shabazz and her children would also receive part of the film's net profits, which will be paid into a trust fund.

Officials at Fox were reluctant to disclose the scope of the Malcolm X screenplay being written by Mr. Lomax, as well as the names of those persons associated with the black nationalist from whom they have received legal releases. Paul Menash will produce the Fox film, which, it is expected, will be made without well-known players.

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X" covers his life from his boyhood in Michigan, through his Harlem hoodlum days and his conversion to Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, to his break with Muhammad and his trips to Mecca.

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Comment

# Malcolm X gaining stature as Negroes' hero

By Norman Ross

Three years to the day after Malcolm X's murder, how do Chicago Negroes rank him among other members of the black pantheon?

Says a leading intellectual: "He is an enormous inspiration to young blacks. They need a hero, and those selected for them they cannot accept. They can accept Malcolm."

Q: What about such men as Martin Luther King?

A: King's appeal was always highest among older Negroes and is decreasing even there. Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young have almost no appeal to the young. Since Newark, Le Roi Jones has risen in esteem. Those the Establishment holds up as villains, young Negroes will consider as heroes.

Q: Wasn't Malcolm shifting toward a more modern position at the time of his death?

A: His visits to Mecca, the Arab countries and Egypt broadened him by teaching him that not all whites are evil. He was moving away from racial chauvinism and toward true Islam. Had he lived, he might have deflected



young blacks from extreme anti-white feelings, but he could not totally have offset a basic trend in that direction.

Q: Did black extremists kill him because he was about to go "Soft on Whitey?"

A: Are you positive they were behind the murderer? If it were cut and dried that Black Muslims had done the job, the fact would have been publicized over and over again as a means of discrediting Elijah Muhammed. As it is, you hear little about his killers.

Q: Speaking of publicity, what do you think of Stokely Carmichael's latest ploy, charging networks \$1,000 each to cover one of his meetings? Where would he be without such publicity?

A: I see his point. All networks do is to use sensational bits that suit their purposes. Why help them? Only a few publicity hounds now co-operate with white media. You're going to find it more and more difficult to communicate with the black community.

Q: Many of us have been discovering that for some time. But despite abusive response we still ask whites to make sure their opposition to busing isn't largely based on prejudice, quote Lerone Bennett's Ebony Magazine article painting Abraham Lincoln as a racist, etc.

A: That's fine, but it's not enough just to quote. There are a million of us blacks in Chicago, and we're increasing in numbers while you whites are decreasing. Yet you continue to treat us as intruders. Not one major newspaper features a voice that expresses our sentiments. You don't even print the letters we write. You speak about us and for us and tell us what to do, but don't let us speak for ourselves.

TODAY scattered memorial services mark the death of Malcolm X, and in cities like Chicago pamphlets urge children to stay home from school in his honor. Ironically, the

observance coincides with Brotherhood Week.

It will be a happy day when blacks don't have to put down white heroes like Washington and Lincoln. Come to think of it, it will be an even happier one when brotherhood is a fact 52 weeks a year so that whites don't have to pay it lip service one week a year.

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# First of all, he was a man — with a capital M

By Bernard Farber

The Autobiography of Malcolm X, with the assistance of Alex Haley, Grove Press 1966, 480 pp., 95¢.

Malcolm X Speaks, Selected Speeches and Statements edited by George Breitman, Grove Press 1966, 228 pp. 95¢.

Charlatan? Prophet? Opportunist? Savior? Hate-monger? Extremist? Leader?

**WHO AND WHAT—AND WHY**—was Malcolm X? First of all, he was a man. Spell that with a capital M. But even prior to that, he found that he was black. From his birth forty-two years ago in Omaha, Nebraska to his violent death at the Audubon ballroom in Harlem on February 21, 1965, he found that America found a fundamental contradiction between those two aspects of Malcolm Little: man and black.

Even as his mother carried him in her belly, the Klan made its night rides to their house to warn that the good Christian white people wouldn't tolerate his father stirring up trouble with the 'back to Africa' preaching of Marcus Garvey's movement. It wasn't too long before the Little's heard of their father's 'suicide.' And young Malcolm was soon to experience the dehumanizing experience of the visits of the welfare officials, who felt that because they brought the check 'they owned us.' Setting brother against brother, they eventually were able to tear apart the family, sending the mother to a mental institution and scattering the children hither and yon.

**MALCOLM STARTED** young on his life of crime, learned how to conk his hair, how to survive on the streets. Hated by the white world, he learned to hate him-

self, to hate his skin, to hate his hair, to devalue black women and grovel after white ones. Eventually, he wound up, as so many black people have, in prison.

But then came the letters from his brothers and sisters: eat no more pork, smoke no more cigarettes and we'll show you a way out of prison. Malcolm was eventually released from the physical prison which surrounded him, but even more important, he was out of his spiritual prison. He learned, from Eliza Muhammed, to value his blackness, to love himself. And through his extensive reading in the prison library, he learned how America's black people had been demuded of the history of their ancestors. Even before Columbus 'discovered' America and the 'American' stole the land from the Indian, white Europeans were crawling across the face of Africa to sit at the feet of black scholars.

Dissatisfied with the slow growth of the Nation of Islam, he adapted the street 'fishing' techniques he had perfected while running numbers and pushing dope, to the far more satisfying task of bringing his people into the fold. And he swiftly rose, setting up new temples in numerous cities, breaking the story of the Muslims' appeal into the national magazines, and press, and consciousness, founding the newspaper 'Muhammad Speaks,' and bringing the message and the truth to both the street meetings in Harlem and the college audiences at Harvard and Yale.

Inevitably, his prominence led him to conflict with the personal ambitions of many in the Muslim movement, and even overshadowed the man he had been

devoted to. So he was silenced, and then, in effect expelled, with a death-threat hanging over his head.

**AND THEN** came his statement: 'In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and our government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property...' And, in contrast to the Muslim's diatribe for politics, he pledged not to allow another political sell-out of his people in 1964.

Malcolm truly threatened the establishment, for he wasn't tied down, as so many other Negro 'leaders' were, by the necessity of appeasing white liberals who were the major contributors to their organizations. Here was a man who might lead his people out of Egypt,

out of their bondage to the Democratic party, and the prison which he knew was present day America.

**JOURNEYING TO MECCA**, and then through Africa, he learned to identify with the struggle of his brothers in the rest of the non-white world, brothers who were struggling against the same enemy he was—the racists in Washington. The struggle, he learned, was the same. 'We are living in an era of revolution,' Malcolm said, 'and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era... It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white or as a purely American problem. Rather we are today seeing a global rebellion of col-

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passed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter.

TOWARDS THE END of his life, he was coming closer and closer to espousing revolutionary socialist principles. The early sects of Christian followers, he said, 'were like termites in the catacombs and the grottoes--and they were preparing the grave of the mighty Roman Empire.' Yes, I think I know what and who, and why Malcolm was. Man, Leader, Prophet, he had early turned towards the Mecca in the East, and realized the necessity of building the Mecca of brotherhood and plenty in the West. His words and thought were laying

the groundwork for destroying another mighty empire. The only way America would be changed, he saw, was pressure stemming both from external and internal sources--both the uprising of the Vietnamese and Congolese and the rebellions in Harlem.

Rifle Squads or the Beloved Community? the late Rev. A.J. Muste once asked. Malcolm saw that those in the Beloved Community would have to form Rifle Squads to protect and free themselves from the Tigers outside.

YES, I HAVE cherished my "demagogue" role,' Malcolm said, 'I know that societies often have killed the people who have helped to change these societies.' America has learned, since Malcolm's death, that there were, and are, and will be more Malcolms. 'Not very long ago,' Sartre writes, 'the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants: five hundred million men and one thousand five hundred million natives.' Malcolm's fiery life and death told America, and the world, that this was to be no more.

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# Malcolm X Slaying Jury Weighs Case

NEW YORK (AP)—A jury of three women and nine men —three of them Negroes — begins deliberating Wednesday the fate of three accused slayers of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

One of the three, Talmadge Hayer, 24, of Paterson, N. J., last week startled the heavily-guarded courtroom of State Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks near the end of the eight-week-old trial by confessing his part in the assassination.

But Hayer sought to exonerate co-defendants Norman 3X Butler, 27, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, who said they were in their Bronx homes when Malcolm was cut down in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom Feb. 21, 1965.

Prosecutor Vincent J. Dermody, however, introduced a parade of witnesses to place

Butler and Johnson in the ballroom.

Six witnesses identified Butler as being in the ballroom, and three of them swore they saw him shoot Malcolm. Four placed Johnson at the murder scene and two said they saw him with a double-barreled shotgun in his hands.

HAYER, who was shot in thigh by one of Malcolm's bodyguards while fleeing the murder scene, was identified by eight persons as present in the ballroom, and four said they saw him race down the aisle, pumping pistol bullets into Malcolm.

Hayer's courtroom confession was branded by Dermody as "a last, desperate effort to bail out" his confederates when he realized that he was "buried in a mountain of evidence" and was "a dead duck."

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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EDITOR: ROY M. FISHER

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## SUMMATIONS IN MALCOLM X SLAYING BEGUN

New York, March 8 (Special) —The trial of three accused slayers of Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader, reached the summation stage today and the case was expected to be given to the jury tomorrow.

Prosecutor Vincent J. Dermody told the jury, which includes three Negroes, that the slaying on Feb. 21, 1965, before nearly 100 of Malcolm's followers was intended as an object lesson to his adherents. He said the defendants were guilty of deliberate and premeditated murder.

5-1

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

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# Admits Assassination Of Black Nationalist Malcolm X

A New Jersey man on trial in connection with the shotgun slaying of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X last year, has admitted he pumped the fatal shots into the young former Black Muslim's body.

Talsadge Hayer, who was shot in the thigh by one of Malcolm's guards after the assassination in an uptown New York Ballroom, has admitted being in the room, but insisted he was a victim of mistaken identity.

His later admission shocked the State Supreme Court, where for seven weeks, a jury of nine men and three women has been hearing evidence against the 24-year-old Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagen; Norman SX Butler 27 and Thomas X Johnson, 30.

Hayer also insisted that the two other men on trial with him were not a part of the plot.

He said, "I just want to testify that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with it, 'Hayer said.' I was there. I know what happened and I know the people who were there.

Malcolm was gunned down as he prepared to address a rally at Manhattan's Ballroom on February 21, of last year. The prosecution contends there was a pre-arranged plot to kill Malcolm, who had broken off relations with Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims. He had then formed his own group.

From the cross examination that followed, it appeared the prosecution would still try to convict all three for the murder, despite Hayer's insistence that Butler and Johnson were innocent.

Hayer said he decided to tell the truth after conferring with the other two defendants. The two men contended they were not in the room when the slaying occurred.

Hayer said he was hired to assassinate Malcolm but refused to tell who hired him or who his accomplices were. He said the earlier testimony he gave was all lies.

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## Mourners For Slain Malcolm X Less Than 100

N.Y. Herald Tribune Special.  
NEW YORK — What had been billed as a solemn march to commemorate the death of Malcolm X turned out to be a small and lonely procession Sunday.

A year ago, 22,000 mour-

ners had walked past the bier of the militant black nationalist.

But Sunday, in the midst of the trial of his alleged killers, not even 100 friends and admirers were on hand to honor his memory.

As they marched to the beat of an African drum, behind voodoo priests in white wind-whipped garments, the streets of Harlem were deserted and hardly anyone even parted a curtain to gaze out a window. "This is showing us who

really cares about blacks," said Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the leaders of the commemoration.

Nobody has actively tried to take over the leadership of Malcolm X's organization of Afro-American unity and his followers have scattered.

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FOUR STAR FINAL

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## WIDOW SHOUTS IN MALCOLM X MURDER TRIAL

(N. Y. News-Chicago Tribune Dispatch)  
New York, Feb. 17—The widow of the assassinated Negro leader Malcolm X, with tears in her eyes, cried at three accused slayers in Supreme court here today: "They killed my husband. They killed him. They had no right to kill my husband."

The outburst by Mrs. Betty Shabazz came as she was being led from the witness chair after 13 minutes of testimony before Justice Charles Marks and a jury of three white women and nine men—three of them Negroes.

Mrs. Shabazz twice interrupted her exit to shout her accusations at Talmadge Hayer, 22; Norman 3X Butler, 28, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30. Marks cautioned the jury not to consider any statement made by the distraught woman after she left the witness stand as "part of any evidence in this case."

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## Reset Trial For Malcolm X Suspects

NEW YORK — ((NPI)) — A judge's "spark of human kindness" for jurors last week led to the postponement until Jan. 3 of the actual selection of veniremen in the trial of three men charged with the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks said that asking prospective jurors to serve during the holiday season "would be an injustice to them."

Charged with his murder are Thomas, alias Talmadge Flayer; Norman 15X Johnson; and Norman 3X Butler.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

WEEKLY EDITION

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## Alex Haley Who Worked With Malcolm X On TV

Alex Haley, co-author of "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," will talk about the year of intensive collaboration during which he and the late Negro cultist wrote the book on WTTW Channel 11's BOOK BEAT Wednesday, December 1st, 9:30 p.m.

A well-known magazine writer, Haley worked closely with

Malcolm X in creating the autobiography. The book tells of Malcolm's boyhood in the worst possible slum conditions, his imprisonment, his interest in books which grew while he was in prison, and his career as a member of the Black Muslims and as a rebel from the group. Well aware that he was a target for assassination, Malcolm at one point in the collaboration said, "I don't expect to be alive to see this book in print."

BOOK BEAT is a weekly series featuring interviews with noted authors and critics. The series is hosted by Robert Cronie, editor of the Chicago Tribune's "Books Today" magazine.

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THE NEW CRUSADER  
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## MAKING HIS MARK

A strong diagnosis of America's racial sickness in one Negro's-odyssey

By Bayard Rustin

This odyssey of an American Negro in search of his identity and place in society really begins before his birth 40 years ago in Omaha, Neb. He was born Malcolm Little, the son of an educated mulatto West Indian mother and a father who was a Baptist minister on Sundays and dedicated organizer for Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement the rest of the week.

that he spent his life trying to purge this tainted white blood of a rapist from his veins.

The first incident Malcolm recounts, as if it were his welcome to white America, occurred just before he was born. A party of Ku Klux Klanners galloped up to his house, threatened his mother and left a warning for his father "to stop spreading trouble among the good" Negroes and get out of town. They galloped into the night after smashing all the windows. A few years later the Klan was to make good on its threat by burning down the Littles' Lansing, Mich., home because Malcolm's father refused to become an Uncle Tom. These were the first in a series of incidents of racial violence, characteristic of that period, that were to haunt the nights of Malcolm and his family and hang like a pall over the lives of Negroes in the North and South. Five of Reverend Little's six brothers died by violence—four at the hands of white men, one by lynching, and one shot down by Northern police officers. When Malcolm was six, his father was found cut in two by a trolley car with his head bashed in. Malcolm's father had committed "suicide," the authorities said. Early in his life Malcolm concluded "that I too would die by violence . . . I do not expect to live long enough to read this book."

Malcolm's early life in the Midwest was not wholly defined by race. Until he went to Boston when he was 14, after his mother suffered a mental breakdown from bringing up eight children alone, his friends were often white; there were few Negroes in the small Midwestern towns where he grew up. He recounts with pride how he was elected president of his eighth-grade class in an almost totally white school.

But the race problem was always there, although Malcolm, who was light-skinned, tried for a time to think of himself as white or just like anyone else. Even in his family life, color led to conflict that interfered with normal relationships. The Reverend Little was a fierce disciplinarian, but he never laid a hand on his light-skinned son because, unconsciously, according to Malcolm, he had developed respect for white skin. On the other hand, Malcolm's mother, whose father was a white man, was ashamed of this and favored Malcolm's darker brothers and sisters. Malcolm wrote

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1 BOOK SEC.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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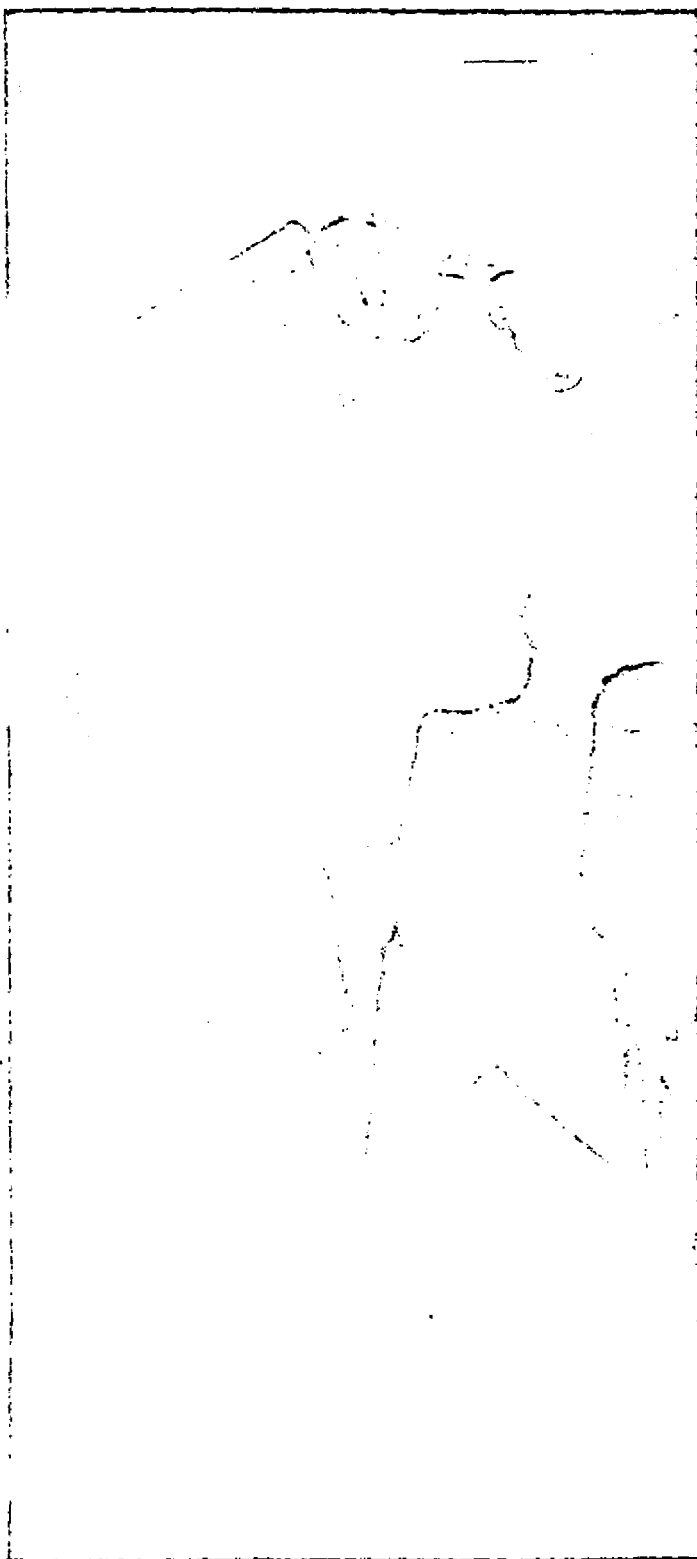
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Race also set the limits on his youthful ambitions during what he describes as his "mascot years" in a detention home run by whites with mixed feelings of affection and superiority towards him. One of the top students in his school and a member of the debating club, Malcolm went to an English teacher he admired and told him of his ambition to become a lawyer. "Mr. Ostrowsky looked surprised and said, 'Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic . . . a lawyer, that's no realistic goal for a nigger . . . you're good with your hands . . . why don't you plan on carpentry?'" How many times has this scene been repeated in various forms in schoolrooms across the country? It was at this point, Malcolm writes, "that I began to change—inside. I drew away from white people."

Too many people want to believe that Malcolm "the angry black man sprang full grown from the bowels of the Harlem ghetto." These chapters on his childhood are essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the plight of American Negroes.

Malcolm Little was 14 when he took the Greyhound to Boston to live with his half-sister, Ella, who had fought her way into the Boston "black bourgeoisie." The "400," as they were called, lived on "the Hill," only one step removed socially, economically and geographically from the ghetto ("the Town"). Malcolm writes that "a big percentage of the Hill dwellers were in Ella's category—Southern strivers and scramblers and West Indian Negroes, whom both the New Englanders and Southerners called 'Black Jews.'" Ella owned some real estate and her own home, and like the first Jews who arrived in the New World, she was determined to shepherd new immigrants and teach them the strange ways of city life. There were deep bonds between Ella and her younger brother, and she tried to help him live a respectable life on the Hill.

But for Malcolm the 400 were only "a big-city version of those 'successful' Negro bootblacks and janitors back in Lansing . . . 8 out of 10 of the Hill Negroes of Roxbury . . . actually worked as menials and servants. . . . I don't know how many 40- and 50-year-old errand boys went down the Hill dressed as ambassadors in black suits and white collars to downtown jobs 'in government,' 'in finance,' or 'in law.'" Malcolm instead chose "the Town," where for the first time he felt he was part of a people.

Unlike the thousands of Negro migrants who poured into the Northern ghettos, Malcolm had a choice. But from the moment he made it, the options narrowed. He got a job at the Roseland Ballroom, where all the jazz greats played. His title was shoeshine boy but his real



job was to hustle whiskey, prophylactics and women to Negroes and whites. He got his first conk and zoot suit and a new identity, "Red," and his secondary education began before he was 15. "I was . . . schooled well, by experts in such hustles as the numbers, pimping, con games of many kinds, peddling dope, and thievery of all sorts, including armed robbery."

It is significant that it was Malcolm's good qualities—his intelligence, integrity, and distaste for hypocrisy—as well as his sickness that made him choose crime rather than what passed in the Negro community for a respectable bourgeois life. Later he moved on to bigger things in Harlem, became "Detroit Red," went on dope and at one time carried three guns.

His description of the cut-throat competition between the hustlers and their fraternity is both frightening and moving. "As in the case of any jungle," he writes, "the hustler's every waking hour is lived with both the practical and the subconscious knowledge that if he ever relaxes, if he ever slows down, the other, hungry, restless foxes, ferrets, wolves, and vultures out there with him won't hesitate to make him their prey." He summed up his morality at the time: "The only thing I considered wrong was what I got caught doing wrong . . . and everything I did was done by instinct to survive." As a "steerer" of uptown rich whites to Harlem "sex specialties," he recounts perversions with racial overtones, of white men begging to be beaten by black women or paying large amounts to witness interracial sex that make Genet's "The Balcony" seem inhibited by comparison.

"Detroit Red" was a limited success in his trade for four years. But even in this business, success was limited by race. The big operators, the successful, respectable, and safe executives of policy, dope, and prostitution, rackets, were white and lived outside the ghetto.

Malcolm left Harlem to return to Boston, and a few months later was caught as the

head of a burglary gang. In February, 1946, not quite 21, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison, though the average sentence for burglary was about two years—the price for his being caught with his white girl friend and her sister.

Most of the first year in prison, Malcolm writes, he spent in solitary confinement, cursing: "My favorite targets were the Bible and God." Malcolm got a new name from the other prisoners—"Satan"—and plenty of time to think. He went through what he described as a great spiritual crisis, and, as a result, he, the man who cursed God,

bowled down and prayed to Allah. It will be difficult for those readers who have never been in prison to understand the psychological torment that prisoners experience, their feelings of isolation, their need to totally commit their minds to something outside of themselves. Men without any of the external economic symbols of status seek security in a religion, philosophy or ideology. Malcolm particularly, with his great feelings of rebelliousness, hatred, and internal conflict, turned to books and ideas for relief. When his brothers and sisters wrote to him that they had become followers of Elijah Muhammad and sent him Elijah's teachings, Malcolm seized on the tracts. Stimulated, he read other books on religion and philosophy voraciously. In his spiritual and psychological crisis he underwent religious conversion.

He took on a new identity and became Malcolm X, a follower of Elijah Muhammad. Now he had a God to love and obey and a white devil responsible for his plight. Many Negro prisoners accepted the "Messenger," Elijah Muhammad, for similar reasons. Excluded from American society, they are drawn to another one, the Nation of Islam. (This analysis of why Malcolm joined the Muslims is mine, for although Malcolm writes about Muslim ideal, nowhere does he discuss the

reasons for his conversion, beyond a surface level.)

Out of prison, Malcolm, while remaining religious, arrived at a balanced view of the more fantastic elements of Elijah's teachings and a deeper understanding of one of the driving forces: "So many of the survivors whom I knew as tough hyenas and wolves of the streets in the old days now were so pitiful. They had known all the angles, but beneath that surface they were poor ignorant, untrained men; life had cased up on them and hyped them. . . . I was thankful to Allah that I had become a Muslim and escaped their fate."

Alex Haley, who assisted Malcolm with the book, rightly commends him for deciding not to rewrite the first parts of the book and make it a polemic against his old leader, although in the interim they had broken and now were in competition with each other. As a result, the book interestingly shows changes in Malcolm's thinking.

After seven years in prison, Detroit Red emerged as Malcolm X and was soon to be the brightest star of the Nation of Islam. But as in every conversion, the man himself was not entirely reborn. Malcolm brought with him his traits of the past—the shrewd and competitive instincts learned on the ghetto streets, combined now with the language and thoughts of the great philosophers of Western culture he applied from reading Hegel, Kant, and Nietzsche, and great Negro intellectuals like Du Bois. Remaining, too, with his burning ambition to succeed, was the rebellious anger of his youth for being denied a place in society commensurate with his abilities. But on the other side of the coin was a desire for fraternity, family and respectability.

Because of his ability, he was sent to New York, where he struck a responsive chord with a great many Harlem Negroes. The Nationalist sects provided an arena of struggle for power and status denied lower-class

Negroes in the outside world.

But the same qualities that made him a successful ghetto organizer soon brought him into conflict with other Muslim leaders, especially Elijah's children and prospective heirs. They saw Malcolm as a threat to their domain and apparently were able to convince Elijah that there was a threat to himself as well. For although Malcolm always gave corollary credit to Elijah—and the limits set upon him by Elijah's demands made many underestimate the exceptional nature of his mind—he could not totally constrain his brilliance, pride or ambition. "Only by being two people could I have worked harder in the service of the Nation of Islam. I had every gratification that I wanted. I had helped bring about the progress and additional impact such that none could call us liars when we called Mr. Muhammad the most powerful black man in America."

As Malcolm's star rose higher in the western sky, Mr. Muhammad saw his eastern star setting and grew jealous. The conflict grew, although Malcolm made efforts toward conciliation. Finally, there was a total break that can be fatal to the erring Muslim who is cast away. Malcolm was aware of the dangers. "I hadn't hustled in the streets for nothing. I knew I was being set up . . . As any official in the Nation of Islam would instantly have known, any death-talk for me could have been approved of—if not actually initiated—by only one man." Later, just before his death, Malcolm said the attempt to murder him would come from a much greater source than the Muslims; he never revealed about whom he was talking.

Under a death sentence and without money or any substan-

tial organization, Malcolm opted militants' avoided him as 'too for action, although it was un-moderate.' 'They won't let me clear whether he was running turn the corner!' he once exclaimed away from or toward something claimed. 'I'm caught in a trap!'" as he began another phase of Malcolm was moving toward his odyssey—a pilgrimage to the mainstream of the civil Mecca where he became El-Hajj rights movement when his life Malik El-Shabazz. Throughout was cut short, but he still had his many conversions and trans-quite a way to go. His anti-formations, he never was more Semitic comments are a symp-

American than during his trip to Mecca. Because his ankles were not flexible enough, he was unable to sit properly cross-legged on the traditional Muslim rug with the others, and at first he shrank from reaching into the common food pot. Like many American tourists, he projected desires for hospitality and fraternity, frustrated at the home, on the Muslims he met, most of whom he could not communicate with because of the language barrier. Back in America, he acknowledged that it would be a long time before the Negro was ready to make common struggle with the Africans and Arabs.

In Mecca, Malcolm also dramatically announced that he had changed his view on integration because he had seen true brotherhood there between black and white Muslims. In reality he had begun changing his attitude on integration and the civil rights movement many months before as the divisions between him and Elijah Muhammad widened. Partway through the book his attacks on the movement became muted, and in the epilogue Haley concludes that Malcolm "had a reluctant admiration for Dr. Martin Luther King."

The roots of Malcolm's ambivalence were much more profound than personal opportunism. In a touching confession of dilemma he told Haley, "the so-called moderate' civil rights organizations avoided him as 'too militant' and the 'so-called for action, although it was un-moderate.' 'They won't let me clear whether he was running turn the corner!' he once exclaimed away from or toward something claimed. 'I'm caught in a trap!'" as he began another phase of Malcolm was moving toward his odyssey—a pilgrimage to the mainstream of the civil Mecca where he became El-Hajj rights movement when his life Malik El-Shabazz. Throughout was cut short, but he still had his many conversions and trans-quite a way to go. His anti-formations, he never was more Semitic comments are a symp-

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audience, according to Alex Haley, "... All this about an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler, who became a racial fanatic." Yes, all this and more, before we can understand Malcolm's autobiography, revealing little-known

aspects of his life and character, makes that tortured journey more understandable.

One of the book's shortcomings is that M. S. Handler and Haley, in their sensitive and insightful supplementary comments, make no comprehensive estimate of Malcolm X as a political leader. His often conflicting roles in the civil rights movement are described rather than analyzed. Perhaps this couldn't be helped, for Haley writes that Malcolm wanted a chronicler, not an interpreter. Obviously, Malcolm was not ready to make a synthesis of his ideas and an evaluation of his political role.

Shortly after Malcolm's death Tom Kahn and I wrote in *New America and Dissent*: "Now that he is dead, we must resist the temptation to idealize Malcolm X, to elevate charisma to greatness. History's judgment of him will surely be ambiguous. His voice and words were cathartic, channeling into militant verbiage emotions that otherwise might have run a violently destructive course. But having described the evil, he had no program for attacking it. With rare skill and feeling he articulated angry subterranean moods more widespread than any of us like to admit. But having blown the trumpet, he could summon, even at the very end, only a handful of followers."

Of course we cannot judge political effectiveness by numbers alone, but we cannot ignore his inability to build a movement. As a spokesman for Negro anger and frustration, he left his mark on history, but as a militant political leader he failed—and the Negro community heeded both. Till the end, his program was a maze of contradictions. He was a bril-

liant psychologist when it came to articulating the emotions and thoughts of ghetto Negroes, but he knew virtually nothing about economics, and more important, his program had no relevance to the needs of lower-class Negroes. His conception of the economic roots of the problem is reflected in such remarks as "it is because black men do not own and control their community retail establishments that they cannot stabilize their own communities." And he advocates, as a solution, that Negroes who buy so many cars and so much expensive whiskey should own automobile franchises and distilleries. Malcolm was urging Negroes to pool their resources into small business establishments at a time when small businesses were declining under the pressure of big business and when an unplanned technological revolution is creating massive unemployment for unskilled Negroes.

Malcolm's solutions were in fact almost a mirror image of many proposals made by white economic moderates; those advocates of "self-help" without a massive program for jobs remind me of no one so much as those black nationalist sects and their "build it yourself" black economy without capital. In short, Malcolm's economic program was not radical. It was, in fact, petty bourgeois.

Malcolm got a wide hearing in the ghetto because large sections of the Negro working class were being driven into the "underclass" and made part of the rootless mass by the vicissitudes of the economy. He articulated the frustration and anger of these masses, and they admired his outspoken attack on the racists and white hypocrites. But while thousands came to his funeral (I was there, too, to pay my respects), few joined his organization. Nor should it be surprising that the Negro masses did not support his proposed alliance of black Americans, Africans, and Arabs, including such leaders as Prince Faisal. For

what did a Harlem Negro, let alone an Arab Bedouin, have in common with a feudal prince like Faisal? And at home Malcolm maintained an uneasy co-existence with the Harlem political machine. Today Malcolm's organization, the OAAU, hardly exists. In addition, he never clearly understood that as progress was made toward social integration, the problem for America's Negroes would become just as much one of class as of race.

Malcolm was with the Negro masses, but he was not of them. His experience and ambitions separated him from working-class Negroes. But to say this is not enough. In a sense Malcolm's life was tragic on a heroic scale. He had choices but never took the easy or comfortable ones. If he had, he might today be, as he says, a successful lawyer, sipping cocktails with other members of the black bourgeoisie. He chose instead to join the Negro masses who never had this freedom of choice. And, before his death he was working toward a more creative approach to the problems of the ghetto. Perhaps he might have been successful in "turning this corner."

After reflecting on the old days at Mosque 7, shortly before he was killed, Malcolm told Haley, "That was a bad scene, brother. The sickness and madness of those days—I'm glad to be free of them. It's a time for martyrs now. And if I'm to be one, it will be in the cause of brotherhood."

Our journey through the madness of racism continues, and there is much we can learn about both the sickness and the cure from Malcolm X.

# The Meaning of Malcolm X

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X, with the assistance of Alex Haley (Grove, \$7.50).

By Ben Holman

IN a eulogy at the funeral of Malcolm, actor-playwright Ossie Davis said, "Malcolm was our manhood, our living, black manhood! This was his meaning to his people. And, in honoring him, we honor the best in ourselves."

These words summarize the meaning of Malcolm X for most American Negroes. And they indicate — to the puzzlement of many white persons — why most Negroes were shocked and saddened by his death.

Those who wish to gain a greater understanding of the current mood and temper of Negroes should not read the autobiography of Malcolm X as a mere chronicle of his life. Rather, it should be read as an exposition of the aspirations, frustrations and bitterness that mold the attitudes and behavior of Black America.

This book gives a better clue to the cause of the Watts riots than all the dissertations about the breakdown in respect for law and order — the statistics on unemployment.

HAVE SERIOUS reservation about the description of the phenomenon which has struck our nation over the past decade as the "Negro Revolution." If, indeed, it is, then it must be viewed as a revolt inside the Negro.

For what has happened is that the Negro has learned that he has no more been able to call himself a man since the Emancipation Proclamation than in the days of slavery, when his subhuman status was not seriously questioned.

The Negro has discovered that a man is not ashamed of the skin color or physical condition with which he is born. A man does not idle his time on street corners while his

woman scrubs white folks' floors. A man does not deliberately send his children to inferior schools when there are others far superior.

When Malcolm X spoke,

these are the words Negroes heard.

UNFORTUNATELY, many white persons will read his book and not sense this at all. For they will read of his boyhood experiences in Michigan and fail to see how they differ from those of many who have risen from lowly backgrounds. They will read the bursts of hatred for the white man interspersed through all his episodes and brush them aside as rationalization for his bitterness.

This will be a pity. For in so doing, they will apply the same rulers that have led to a misunderstanding of the Negro's response to his lot.

Others will read Malcolm's book with disappointment. They will find hardly any of the sharp rhetoric he brought to live and broadcast audiences.

IN SHORT, as an autobiography — the stuff that either entertains today or provides resource for tomorrow — the book is largely a failure. Yet it should be read. For although Malcolm X failed to realize visions that were still being formed at the time of his death (and I doubt whether he ever would have), his life's experiences can help us understand others who may succeed.



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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DATE: 11-20-65

PAGE: 10 COL: 2 Magazine Sec.

EDITION: RED STREAK

EDITOR: LARRY FANNING  
COPY SENT TO BUREAU  
CHICAGO OFFICE

100-33593-302

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NOV 21 1965  
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## 1,500 Honor Late Malcolm X

NEW YORK (AP)—More than 1,500 persons paid tribute last night to the memory of slain black nationalist leader Malcolm X, who was assassinated Feb. 21.

Playwright-Actor Ossie Davis called Malcolm "one of the great men of our time."

CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 5-27-65

PAGE: 5 COL: 1

EDITOR: LUKE P. CARROLL  
CHICAGO OFFICE

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, CHICAGO [REDACTED] <sup>b2</sup>  
FROM: SA [REDACTED] b7D  
SUBJECT: [REDACTED] b7D  
IS - C

DATE: 4/29/65

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4/15/65

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC, CHICAGO [REDACTED]

DATE: 3/19/65

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

SM - C

Recommendation: Index [REDACTED]

NONE

1 - New York (Info) (RM)

(1 - 100 - (MALCOLM X LITTLE)

1 - Detroit (Info) (RM)

(23) - Chicago

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(see page 11 for additional dissemination)

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(1 - 100-35635 (NOI)

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(1 - 100-18961 (CP, Illinois District - International Relations)

~~(1 - 100-19491 (CP, Illinois District - Domestic Administration Issues)~~

(1 - 100-41324 (CP, Illinois District - CIRM)

~~(1 - 100-17077 (CP, Illinois District - Political Activities)~~

(1 - 100- [REDACTED] (Foreign affairs - Ghana)

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41748)

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: COMINFIL-EDUCATIONAL FUND FOR  
CHILDREN OF MALCOLM X SHABAZZ  
IS - C

5/10/66

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4/30/65

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**AIRTEL**

FROM SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, Aka  
IS - MNI  
(OO: NEW YORK)

Negative Nation of Islam contacts were conducted with the following [REDACTED]

contacted by SA  
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DATE 2/21/83 BY 826 JH5/KES/pej

3 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (RM)  
2 - New York (Encl. 2) (105-2999) (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
CJS:RJR  
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SERIALIZED: [REDACTED]  
INDEXED: [REDACTED]  
FILED: [REDACTED]

100-33593-289

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(Info)

Xerox copy  
 to S-2 at  
 Handed by  
 S-2 under  
 CIAM (100-41324)  
 EFT for children of  
 mother (100-41748)

CG 100-33593

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The information furnished SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]  
was given by SA [REDACTED]

b7D

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[REDACTED]

*Handled by  
S-2 under CIRM*

**THERE'LL BE ANOTHER BENEFIT** for Selma on Sunday, this one here at Second City. . . . Only big-name star who had to decline an invitation to join "Broadway's Answer to Selma" is actor Ossie Davis. He'll be in Chicago to address the Educational Fund for Children of Malcolm X at the Tabernacle Baptist Church.

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DATE 2/16/84 BY 8269JHE/WEC/QQ

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FOUR STAR FINAL

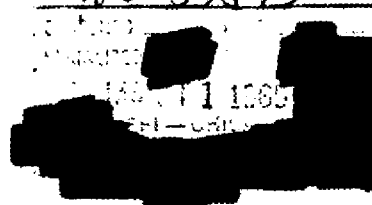
DATE: 9-31-65

PAGE: 4 POOL: 1

EDITOR: JOHN TREZEVANT

CHICAGO OFFICE

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

CG 100-33593-285

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A benefit to raise educational funds for the children of the slain Malcolm X will be held at the Tabernacle Baptist Church here April 4, with Ossie Davis as headliner. Ossie delivered the eulogy at Malcolm X's funeral.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/16/84 BY 826 JHE/WEB/20

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

*Four*  
FIVE STAR FINAL

DATE: *9-24-65*

PAGE: *52* COL: *1*

EDITOR: JOHN TREZEVANT

CHICAGO OFFICE  
COPY SENT TO BUREAU

*284*

*110-33573-*  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIAL

*67C*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593)

DATE: 3/12/65

FROM :

SA [REDACTED]

ATTN: [REDACTED]

SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - MMI

In connection with the assassination of MALCOLM X, the New York Police Department has arrested a third suspect, THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, age 30, neat dresser, Negro male, thin moustache. He is an unemployed painter and was a companion of NORMAN 3X BUTLER, previously arrested by the New York Police Department in this matter.

It is requested [REDACTED]

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(6)

*disseminated*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 2/16/84 BY 2603 JHE/dld

100-33593-281

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MAR 2 1965  
FBI - CHICAGO

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## INDICT 3 IN MALCOLM X SLAYING

IN. Y. News-Chicago Tribune Dispatch

New York, March 10 — First degree murder indictments in the assassination of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, on Feb. 21 were handed up today by a New York county grand jury against three members of the Black Muslim movement, from which Malcolm had defected.

Those accused were Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, both of the Bronx, and Thomas [Talmadge Hayer] Hagan, 22, of Paterson, N. J.

Butler and Johnson have been jailed without bond on homicide charges, and Hagan is in the Bellevue hospital

prison ward, recuperating from a leg wound suffered as he fled the Audubon ballroom in Washington Heights just after Malcolm was slain by rifle and pistol bullets.

Reuben Francis, one of Malcolm X's bodyguards, was arrested in the Hagan shooting, and an indictment charging him with felonious assault also was handed up today.

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DATE 2/16/81 BY 8269 THE/web/dcl

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

EDITION: 3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 3-11-65

PAGE: 4 COL: 3 SEC: 1B

EDITOR: W. D. MAXWELL

CHICAGO OFFICE

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MAR 11 1965	
FBI - CHICAGO	

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# Malcolm X Tells How 'Big-Head' Created 1st Race

• Prior to his assassination in New York on Feb. 2, Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, had written the story of his troubles with the Black Muslims. He had been a Muslim leader and subsequently was expelled. Today's installment relates how Malcolm learned of the Muslims.

BY MALCOLM X

MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS began sending me letters about a new, natural religion for the black man. One day Reginald wrote, "Don't eat any more pork." I tried it and did it, and for the first time in a long while I began to get a little feeling of self-respect, tho I hardly knew even how to identify the feeling. Reginald wrote more, about the worship of Allah and the American teacher of Islam, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

I learned that when Muhammad went to Detroit he actually stayed at my brother Wilfred's place. It was my sister Hilda who told me that Muhammad himself had been in prison, for draft dodging, and she suggested that I write to him.

And on one visit she explained to me the key lesson of Elijah Muhammad's teachings which I later learned was the "demonology" that every religion has. Called "Yacub's History," once it is accepted by any black man, he will never again see the white man with the same eyes.

First, the moon separated from the earth. Then, the first humans, Original Man, were a black people. They founded the Holy City Mecca.

Among this black race were 24 wise scientists. One of the scientists, at odds with the rest, created the especially strong black tribe of Shabazz, from which America's Negroes, so-called, descend.

ABOUT 6,000 YEARS AGO, when 70 per cent of the people were satisfied, and 30 per cent were dissatisfied, was born a "Mr. Yacub." He was born to create trouble, to break the peace, and to kill. His head was unusually large. When he was 4 years old, he began school, on the way to becoming highly educated.

At the age of 18, Yacub had finished all of his nation's colleges and universities. He was known as "the big-head

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CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 3-8-65

PAGE: / COL: /

EDITOR: LUKE P. CARROLL  
CHICAGO OFFICE

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scientist." Among many other things, he had learned how to scientifically breed races.

This big-head scientist Yacub, began preaching in the streets of Mecca, making such hosts of converts that the authorities, increasingly concerned, finally exiled him with his 50,000 followers to the island of Patmos—described as the island where John supposedly received the message contained in Revelations in the New Testament.

THO HE was a black man, Yacub, embittered toward Allah now, decided, as revenge, to create upon the earth a "devil" race—a bleached-out, white race of people!

He knew that it would take him several total color-change stages to get from black to white. Yacub began his work by setting up a birth control law there on the island of Patmos.

It was written that after Yacub's bleached-white race had ruled the world for 6,000 years—down to our time—then the black original race would give birth to one whose wisdom, knowledge, and power would be infinite. It was written that some of the original black people should be brought as slaves to North America—to learn to better understand, firsthand, the white devils' true nature, in modern times.

The greatest and mightiest god who appeared on the earth was Master W. D. Fard. He came from the East to the West, appearing in North America at a time when the history and the prophecy was coming to realization, as the nonwhite people all over the world began to rise.

Fard, in 1931, posing as a seller of silks, met, in Detroit, Elijah Muhammad. He gave Allah's message to Elijah and Allah's divine guidance, to save "the Lost-Found Nation of Islam," the so-called Negroes, here in "this wilderness of America."

When my sister, Ella, had finished telling me this "Yacub's History," she left. I don't know if I was able, even, to open my mouth and tell her "good-by."

I DID write to Elijah Muhammad. He sent me a typed reply. It had an all but electrical effect on me to actually see the signature of the Messenger of Allah. He told me to have courage. He even

enclosed some money for me, a \$5 bill. Muhammad to this day sends money all over the country to prison inmates who write to him.

I began pretty soon to write to people in the hustling world that I had known, such as my close friend Sammy, the pimp, or the different dope peddlers. I told them all about Allah and Islam and Elijah Muhammad.

What surely went on the Harlem and Roxbury wires was that "Detroit Red," in "stir," either was going crazy, or he was trying some "bype" to shake up the warden's office, thru writing what the prison censors obviously would report.

I got frustrated at how I couldn't express what I wanted to convey in letters. When I started trying to figure what to do about that, I saw the best thing I could get hold of was a dictionary to study, to learn some words. Probably I spent 2 days just uncertainly riffling thru the pages of that dictionary. I never had realized there were so many words. I didn't know which words for a better vocabulary!

Anyway, finally, the only way I saw to just start some kind of action, I began copying. In a couple of weeks, without having any original intention in the world of even thinking of doing such a thing, the A section of the dictionary had filled a whole tablet and I just naturally went on into the B's.

THAT WAS the way I started copying, eventually, the entire dictionary. It went a lot faster after, thru the practice, I had picked up handwriting speed.

It was inevitable, I suppose, that as my word base broadened, for the first time, I could pick up a book and actually understand what the book was saying.

I had meanwhile been transferred to Norfolk Prison colony, a rehabilitation center for model prisoners. This was because my disposition had improved and because my sister Ella was working for me with the authorities outside.

Let me tell you something! From then until I left that prison, within its routine, in all of the free time I had, I was in the library picking up some more books.

SAC (80-445)

March 8, 1965

SA [REDACTED] b7C

**ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY  
LIAISON MATTERS**

On March 8, 1965, the Roosevelt University "Weekly Calendar", an official listing of events for the current week (3/8-14/65) listed among others the following items:

Monday, March 8

1:00PM, Young Socialist Alliance "The Black Revolution",  
a tape by MALCOLM X, April 1964 in New York, Room 504

Wednesday, March 10

12:45PM, Students for a Democratic Society, Business  
Meeting, Room 720.

The above is set forth for information.

① 100- (MALCOLM X)  
1- 100-40903 (SDS)  
1- 100-36519 (YSA)

[REDACTED] b7C  
(4)

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100-33593-273

5-1 b7C [REDACTED]

# DENY FREEDOM FOR SUSPECT IN MALCOLM CASE

## Police Shield Him in Court Appearance

New York, March 4 (AP)—Norman IX Butler, alleged leader of a three-man team held in the assassination of Malcolm X, made an unsuccessful bid for freedom in court today with policemen shielding him from possible avengers with their bodies.

Butler, 28, reputed "enforcer" in the Black Muslim's Fruit of Islam security force, contended thru his attorney that he should be freed because no witness or testimony has been presented in open court linking him with the assassination.

### Argues for Butler

Justice John Mullen of Supreme court dismissed the motion, and Butler was returned to jail. The bid for freedom was in the form of a petition for a writ of habeas corpus filed by Atty. John Williams.

The district attorney's prob-

lems are not paramount here," Williams argued. "This individual defendant's are paramount."

"On that position this writ is dismissed," Mullen replied curtly.

Butler, who also is awaiting trial on charges that he shot and seriously wounded another Black Muslim defector several months ago, was brought into court by six guards.

Eight other police guards stood facing the nearly empty spectators gallery. One of the guards took up a position immediately behind Butler during the entire hearing.

Followers of the assassinated Malcolm X vowed to avenge his death.

### Second to Be Arrested

Butler was the second of an accused three-man team to be arrested in the slaying. Talmadge Hayer, 22, also identi-

fied as a Black Muslim, was shot in the leg as he fled the scene of the slaying by one of Malcolm's bodyguards and was promptly captured.

Thomas IX Johnson, 30, a Black Muslim strong-arm man, was arrested yesterday and arraigned today as the third member of the team.

There were reports, meanwhile, that Malcolm's assassins may have held a "dress rehearsal" at the Audubon ballroom on Feb. 16, just six days before Malcolm was shot down in the ballroom as he addressed a rally of his followers.

Black Muslims rented the ballroom for a charity bazaar. It was the first time they had ever rented the ballroom used each week by Malcolm's Organization for Afro-American Unity, a black nationalist group he formed after defecting from the Black Muslims.

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DATE 2/16/84 BY 8269 JHE/kw/dq

CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

EDITION: 3 STAR FINAL

DATE:

PAGE: / COL: / SEC: /A

EDITOR: W.D. MAXWELL

CHICAGO OFFICE

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FBI - CHICAGO	

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# THIRD SUSPECT HELD IN DEATH OF MALCOLM X

## Black Muslim Guard Seized in New York

New York, March 3 (AP) — A third suspect in the assassination of Negro nationalist Malcolm X was seized today, from within the ranks of the rival Black Muslim sect. Like the others, he was booked on homicide charges.

He is Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, a tall, sharply dressed Negro with a thin mustache, who served in the shadowy elite guard circle of Elijah Muhammad's Chicago-based Muslim organization.

"I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X, which he perpetrated with others," said Assistant District Atty. Herbert J. Stern, refusing any details.

### Still Probing Murder

"We didn't book him for nothing," Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle told newsmen. As for further arrests in the assassination, Coyle said that "it's still under investigation."

During the day, a Negro in his 20's, Cary Thomas Jr., was held in \$50,000 bail as a material witness in the assassination. Assistant District Atty. Robert W. McKeever said Thomas was believed to have been present at the assassination and to have "vital information concerning the identity of the perpetrators."

Five men in all are believed to have taken part in the Feb. 21 assassination of Malcolm, 39, as he arose to address a rally in a Washington Heights ballroom. Two reportedly were decoys, while the other three shot down the victim with a sawed off shotgun and two pistols.

### Companion of Enforcer

Johnson, an unemployed painter, married and living with his family in the Bronx, was a companion of Black Muslim enforcer, Norman 1X Butler, arrested last Thursday in Malcolm's death. The two currently are free on bond in the January shooting of another Black Muslim defector, Benjamin Brown, who escaped with his life.

The third man under arrest in Malcolm's slaying is Talmadge Hayer, 22, who was shot in the leg by a Malcolm bodyguard as he fled the ballroom after the assassination. Held in Bellevue hospital, he has refused to say whether he has Black Muslim connections.

Malcolm, fiery evangelist of the black supremacy movement, once was Muhammad's right hand man and heir apparent. But he broke with the movement in 1963 and set up a bitterly rival sect. As a result, he claimed to have been marked for death by Muhammad's muslims.

Police attributed Malcolm's assassination to the rivalry. But Muhammad denied any complicity by his group.

Thirty-five hours after Malcolm's death, the Black Muslim's Harlem Mosque No. 7 was wrecked by an explosion and fire, apparently set off in revenge for the assassination.

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

EDITION: 3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 3-4-65

PAGE: 7 COL: 1 SEC: 1-2

EDITOR: W. D. MAXWELL

CHICAGO OFFICE

100-33593-268

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SERIALIZED FILED  
MAR 4 1965  
FBI - CHICAGO

### 3d Malcolm Suspect Seized

NEW YORK (AP)—A second known member of the Black Muslims was arrested Wednesday and accused in the assassination of Malcolm X, leader of a rival Negro nationalist sect. Thomas L. Johnson is the third suspect charged with the crime.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/84 BY 9269 JHE/wes/00

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DATE: 3-3-65

PAGE: 1 COL: 5

EDITION: RED STREAK

EDITOR: CREED C. BLACK

CHICAGO OFFICE

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MAR 4 1965  
FBI - CHICAGO

67C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593)

DATE: 3/3/65

FROM :

SA [REDACTED]

b7C

SUBJECT:

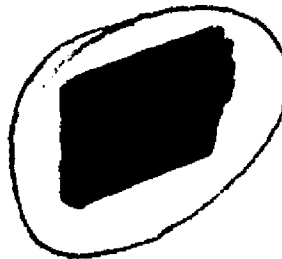
MALCOLM LITTLE, aka.  
IS - MMI

In response to Chicago airtel of 2/25/65, the New York Office by RS dated 2/26/65 made available photographic copies of a picture of TALMADGE HAYER, aka THOMAS HAGAN, one of the accused slayers of MALCOLM X. These photographs are being filed in the 1A of 100-33593 and the names TALMADGE HAYER, aka THOMAS HAGAN are being indexed to this serial.

33593

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DATE 2/16/84 BY 8269THE/hub/da



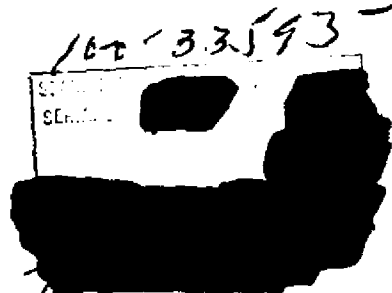
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1 - 100-35635

(2)

b7C

b7C



264

Exhibit  
photos to 1A  
& route to

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593)

DATE: 3/3/65

FROM :

SA [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka.  
IS - MMI

The following information pertains to the events following the assassination of MALCOLM X at New York on 2/21/65:

In accordance with SAC instructions, the writer telephonically contacted the New York Office via FTS to the Bureau at 3:30 PM. Contact was had with SA [REDACTED] at New York for further details on the assassination of MALCOLM X. SA [REDACTED] was asked if there was any information to substantiate rumors that followers of MALCOLM planned to avenge him via acts of violence against ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and/or the NOI, particularly in Chicago. SA [REDACTED] advised that no verified specific information was available at that time, but there was reported talk that MALCOLM's followers were talking of getting arms and going to the New York Mosque. SA [REDACTED] advised that New York would keep Chicago aware of any pertinent details relating to Chicago. SA [REDACTED] advised that the New York Police Department had one individual in custody but that New York did not have his name as of the time of this call.

1 - 100-35635

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DATE 2/16/84 BY 806 JHE/bul/dd

100-33593-263

CG 100-33593

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Subsequent to the call from [REDACTED] was contacted by SA [REDACTED] and the following addresses for NOI businesses and/or property was furnished to that office:

634 East 79th Street and 8201-07 South Vernon.

b7C

At 10:15 PM on 2/21/65 SA [REDACTED] New York Office, telephonically advised the writer [REDACTED]

b7D

b7C

SA [REDACTED] advised that the New York PD had in custody one THOMAS HAGAN as one of the alleged killers of MALCOLM X. He advised that New York indices had no information concerning HAGAN. He further advised that apparently there were at least four persons involved in the shooting of MALCOLM X with at least three guns involved including a shotgun.

b7C

b7C  
b7D



CG 100-33593

b7C  
b2  
b7D  
ELIJAH

At 10:55 PM on 2/21/65 the Bureau was contacted by the writer on SAC authority. Bureau Supervisor [REDACTED] was advised of pertinent information received from [REDACTED] at 9:51 PM on 2/21/65. The information in substance was a [REDACTED] in Phoenix had contacted ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in Chicago and advised that TV and newsmen had been calling for [REDACTED] all day in Phoenix to which MUHAMMAD replied he had no comment for them tonight as he, MUHAMMAD, had to wait until he gets the truth of these things. [REDACTED] also advised MUHAMMAD that the Phoenix Police had been to MUHAMMAD's residence in Phoenix to inquire when MUHAMMAD was returning to Phoenix. [REDACTED] told MUHAMMAD that he told the Police that he did not know when MUHAMMAD was returning but that it would not be for a few days. [REDACTED] stated the Police advised they planned to watch over MUHAMMAD when he returned and requested [REDACTED] to convey that message to MUHAMMAD and in turn advise the PD of MUHAMMAD's comments. MUHAMMAD instructed [REDACTED] to express his appreciation to the Phoenix PD but that everything would be alright. MUHAMMAD indicated there were some Police Officers around his residence in Chicago. He indicated they were there because of the threat put out in New York. MUHAMMAD also indicated he had heard about a threat that some carload of some "little fellas" were on their way from New York but that "we're not afraid of them". MUHAMMAD also stated "They killed their own man right in his own place. What we got to do? What they coming out here after us for? They're crazy. We wasn't even there. No, we got nothing to do with that".

b7C

b7C

On 2/22/65 SA [REDACTED] New York Office, telephonically contacted the writer at 2:05 PM and advised that an article had appeared in the "New York Post" on Page 2, stating that FBI Agents in New York had reported that one of six individuals believed to be en route to Chicago was OMAR AHMAD and that another is one named DONALD WASHINGTON.

b7C

SA [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]

CG 100-33593

SA [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

SA [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

b7C

SA [REDACTED] advised that the above information had been made known to the Bureau on instructions of Assistant Director MAIONE and that same had been furnished to Bureau Supervisor [REDACTED] at the Bureau.

**FBI**

Date: 2/27/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] 4

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO [REDACTED] (P)

RE: b7D

TS - CUBA  
RM

b7C Re report of SA [REDACTED] dated 2/9/65  
at San Antonio.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of LHM on captioned individual.

Dissemination is being made locally to OSI, ONI, 112th INTC, and two copies to Secret Service, San Antonio.

Two extra copies of this communication and LHM are being sent to the following offices since they have an interest in activities relating to the deceased MALCOLM X: New York, Chicago, and WFO.

3-Bureau (Enc. 18) (AM RM)  
 ② Chicago (Enc. 1) (AM RM)  
 2-New York (Enc. 2) (AM RM)  
 2-WFO (Enc. 2) [REDACTED] (AM RM)  
 5-San Antonio

(1-100-9192 NOI)  
(1-157-285 MMI)

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MAY 196  
FBI - CHICAGO

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Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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CG 100-33593-252 page 2

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Antonio, Texas  
February 27, 1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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62  
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GROUP 1  
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JHE/wld  
ON 2/9/84

100-33543-251

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MAR 2 1965	
FBI - CHICAGO	

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1st copy in  
100 dead re  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Antonio, Texas  
February 27, 1965

b7C, b7D

Title [REDACTED]

Character

Reference San Antonio Memorandum, dated  
and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-33593)

DATE: 2/22/65

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM LITTLE  
IS-NOI

At 3:25 AM one [REDACTED] who said he was a reporter for Chicago's American called the FBI office asking for photographs and physical descriptions of two of the followers of MALCOLM X who were reportedly enroute from New York City to Chicago to kill ELIJA H MUHAMMAD.

[REDACTED] said that the FBI had told the Chicago Police about these two men and about the other four who were also headed for Chicago to kill MUHAMMAD and that he, [REDACTED] wanted to know who they were and to obtain photos.

[REDACTED] was advised that the FBI had no comment about the whole affair.

b7C [REDACTED] then said he was getting all of his information from the Chicago Police anyway.

At 4 AM WGN news announced that the Chicago FBI office had furnished information to the Chicago Police to the effect that 6 men who are followers of MALCOLM X were enroute to Chicago to affect reprisal for the death of MALCOLM X. WNUS is off the air from 2 AM until 3 AM.

At 5:20 AM [REDACTED] called [REDACTED] asking if it were true that six carloads of Malcolm X's followers were enroute to Chicago. [REDACTED] said his source of this information was someone at the Chicago Police Department but would not elaborate. He was again advised that the FBI had no comment. [REDACTED] then said that the Police Department source said that the information came from the Chicago FBI office. [REDACTED] asked that [REDACTED] please call [REDACTED] to clarify this information. This information was furnished to Supervisor [REDACTED] phone number is [REDACTED]

SAC JOHNSON was advised of the press interest at 5:30 AM and advised that the FBI had no comment. [REDACTED] was called and again advised that the FBI had no comment.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/16/84 BY 8219 JHE/Hld

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SERIALIZED

FEB 24 1965  
FBI - CHICAGO

250

100-33593-



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593)

DATE: 2/21/65

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM LITTLE  
IS - NOI

This date at approximately 2:30 pm there was a newscast that MALCOLM X had been killed by two men, who were immediately captured, at a rally at the Audabon Ballroom in New York City.

b7C SAC JOHNSON was immediately advised. Upon his instructions Supervisor [REDACTED] was contacted and instructed to contact NY Office through the FTS.

The following Special Agents were contacted and advised to alert their sources:

1  
b7C  
1

SA [REDACTED]  
SA [REDACTED]  
SA [REDACTED]  
SA [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED] was called upon instructions of [REDACTED] was advised of MALCOLM's death and that his followers in NY were reportedly arming themselves and that they might march on MM in NYC. He was requested to advise the Security Unit and he said he would. This was furnished on a confidential basis.

The same information was relayed to SA JAMES FENWICK of Region I, 113th INTC Group (JU 3-1370).

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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b7C

# Malcolm Buried in Simple Rites

NEW YORK (AP)—Malcolm X, the slain Black Nationalist leader whose life was marked by turbulence and hatred for the white man, was laid to rest peacefully yesterday after Muslim rites attended by thousands and guarded by a virtual army of police.

While high tension pervaded the Harlem Negro section of Manhattan, threatened violence failed to materialize. Anonymous persons had telephoned at least eight threats that the church would be bombed.

However, only one incident marred the calm which prevailed in and around the church.

## Disturbance "Family Trouble"

Just before Malcolm's coffin was borne from the building, there was a crash of glass and loud yelling in nearby W. 147th street. Police rushed to the scene but returned to their posts shortly, reporting that the disturbance was merely "family trouble"—a quarrel.

About 1,000 mourners filled the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ, Protestant, which had volunteered its facilities as a "humanitarian gesture" for the Muslim service.

## Sobs Break Silence

Several thousand more listened to the eulogies over loudspeakers set up on the street outside, and hundreds of others watched from windows of dwellings in the vicinity. A portion of the rites was televised nationally.

Malcolm's widow, dressed in black and her face covered by a heavy black veil, sat at the front of the church with relatives and friends. She is pregnant with a fifth child.

Sobs, moans and applause broke the silence often during the 50-minute service.

## Eulogy By Ossie Davis

Aahmed Hassoun, representing the Islamic center in Geneva, Switzerland, looked down at Malcolm's white-robed body as it lay facing eastward toward Mecca in a burnished copper casket, and evoked heavy applause when he told the audience:

"The highest thing a Muslim can aspire to is to die on the battlefield and not at the bedside."

Again there was prolonged applause when the speaker said that "those who die on the battlefield are not dead—they are alive."

The principal eulogy was delivered by Ossie Davis, Negro actor, writer, producer and friend of Malcolm.

Davis said that Harlem had gathered for the service to "bid a fond farewell to one of its brightest hopes — extinguished now and gone forever."

Davis termed Malcolm a "brave and gallant young champion" for the cause of his people in their fight for equality and civil rights. The 39-year-old Muslim, said Davis, "lies before us unconquered still."

There are some people, Davis continued, who regarded Malcolm as a "demon and monster" and "a racist who was only bringing evil to the cause for which we struggle."

## Our... Black Manhood

Davis asserted that Malcolm represented the Negro people's "manhood — our living black manhood — and in honoring him we honor the best in ourselves."

He said Malcolm's death would help "to bring us together now" and declared that Malcolm was "a prince—our own black, shiny prince—who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so."

Before the coffin was closed, Malcolm's widow wept as she peered down at her husband's body in final farewell. As she

CHICAGO'S SUNDAY

AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FIVE STAR FINAL

DATE 2-28-65

PAGE 1 COL 1

EDITOR LUKE CARROLL

CHICAGO OFFICE

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ed on there were means and shrinks from other women.

After the service, Malcolm's coffin was borne in a heavily guarded cortege to nearby Westchester county. There it was buried in Ferncliffe cemetery, Hartsdale, 150 yards from the grave of James Powell, a 15-year-old Negro youth whose death touched off last summer's Harlem riots.

The boy was shot by an off-duty policeman who said the youth approached him with a knife.

Malcolm was cut down by assassin's bullets last Sunday as he addressed a Harlem rally of followers.

Five men are believed to have been responsible for the deed. Two have been arrested.

#### Blame Muslims Here

Malcolm's followers have blamed his slaying on the rival Chicago-based Black Muslims led by Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm broke with Muhammad last year, after 12 years as his most effective spokesman, and set up his own organization.

Muhammad denied his group had anything to do with Malcolm's killing. However, one of those under arrest is Norman BX Butler, a husky 26-year-old Negro identified by police as a Black Muslim "enforcer" or muscle man.

Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little in Omaha, had predicted his own murder on many occasions. He was shot as he started to address some 400 of his followers and died before he could be taken to a nearby hospital.

#### Police Guard Malcolm

Elijah Muhammad, now holding his annual convention in Chicago, claims Malcolm's group is out to get him in revenge.

"They are coming to kill me," he declared.

He is under police protection second only to that given Presidents.

There were some whites present for Malcolm's services in the Harlem church. However, Negro women constituted the majority of those attending.

Others at the rites were James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Dick Gregory, Chicago

comedian who has been active in the civil rights movement; Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1964 Negro march on Washington, and Wally Dukes, basketball star.

#### Followers Are Guard

A heavy police detail inside the church was augmented by many of Malcolm's followers who stood alongside police to spot any possible troublemakers as the mourners were admitted one by one. Police searched women's handbags for any weapons.

Patrolmen were stationed everywhere in the vicinity of the church — on roofs, in side streets, hallways. They carefully scrutinized all who entered the area.

After the service Malcolm's coffin was placed in a blue hearse for the trip to the cemetery. Streets and highways along its route were heavily guarded.

#### Stay to Bury Him

At the cemetery, Malcolm's body was laid to rest after simple Islamic ceremonies. About 150 friends and family members were present, along with some 50 newsmen.

Minutes after the ceremony was concluded, the group continued to cluster around the grave site.

"They won't let the white

man bury him," a Negro man among the mourners muttered to a newsmen. His reference apparently was to grave diggers who stood in the background, waiting for the funeral party to leave.

Joseph Hall, the funeral director, tried to get the mourners to depart, saying the funeral cars were about to be started back to New York City and that the mourners would be left behind.

"We'll bury him first, man. We'll walk," said one.

They first took handfuls of dirt and sprinkled it into the grave. Then seven of Malcolm's closest associates took shovels and covered the casket with earth.



(AP Wirephoto)

NEW YORK—Heavily veiled, Malcolm X's widow takes a last look at the body of her husband before the coffin is closed at

the conclusion of funeral services. Orthodox Islamic rites were performed for the slain Black Nationalist leader.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Malcolm Recalls 'Moors' War

## Two Cops Killed During Battle in 1929

BY JAMES SULLIVAN

Events leading to the killing of Malcolm X on Feb. 21, resemble a 1929 power struggle within a Negro cult—a struggle that ended in a gun battle. Two policemen were shot to death.

Malcolm X broke away from the Black Muslims, led by Elijah Muhammad, to form his own Black Nationalist sect. His murder reminded officials the "Moorish" group that disintegrated amid gunfire 36 years ago.

The 1929 shooting started after a woman called police to inform them that her husband, a leader of the self-styled Moors, had been kidnapped by rival leaders.

Guided by colleagues of the abducted leader, a squad of police went to the Moorish Science temple, then located at 4139 South Park av., where the kidnapped man was supposed to be held.

### Calls for Violence

When police knocked at the temple door, witnesses later said, Ira [Rid] Johnson [Bey], self-proclaimed leader of the temple, shouted: "The law is here. Get your guns."

About 50 of his followers did. One thousand policemen were sent to the scene. When bullets stopped flying, Patrolmen William Gallagher, 40, of 5723 Warwick av., and Jesse D. Hults, 3317 Hirsch st., and John Stephenson Bey, one of Johnson's lieutenants, were dead.

Other policemen and "Moors" were wounded.

Investigation showed that the cult, which had originated in South Carolina six years before, had spread across the nation, yielding its leaders incomes of up to \$18,000 a month and culminating in internecine warfare.

### All Shot to Death

Having established temples in Washington, New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit, Eli Drew, founder of the cult and self-styled "Prophet of Allah," had established national headquarters at the South Park avenue address.

In March, 1929, Drew's chief lieutenant, Claude Green, was shot to death while addressing a meeting at 3140 Indiana av.

Police learned that Drew and Green, the heads of "harmes," had quarreled over a woman. Drew, arrested and released, presided over 10,000 followers at the cult's second national convention only two weeks before the deaths of the policemen.

Immediately after the convention, Drew, who was ailing, died.

Witnesses at Johnson's trial for the murder of the policemen testified that the death had caused Drew's lieutenants to fight over lucrative posts within the Moorish hierarchy.

### Seek to Found New Sect

Some of the lieutenants, who took the titles of "Bey" or "El," sought to found a new sect, drawing members away from the Moors, and precipitating the kidnapping and Johnson's call to the Moors to arm them-

selves to fight "our enemies, police, or anybody else who interferes."

Charles Bellows, now a defense attorney, successfully prosecuted Johnson and two of his aids for murder. In 1935, Johnson was declared insane and transferred to Menard state penitentiary.

In 1947, 30 of Johnson's followers—bearded and wearing red fezzes, all members of the Moorish Science temple, then at 3966 Vernon av. — unsuccessfully petitioned Circuit court to transfer their leader from Menard to Joliet penitentiary.

Johnson died in 1950.

"We thought Mohammed Johnson Bey was insane," Warden Ross Randolph said yesterday. "But until he died his followers came in droves from Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, New York City, and many other cities. They had to have his advice about everything. They would not think of marrying without his consent."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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FBI - CHICAGO

**Malcolm's Killers  
London Marchers Ask**

LONDON, Feb. 27 (AP)—Demonstrators delivered a protest letter to the United States embassy today calling for the capture of the "real murderers" of Malcolm X. About 50 Africans, Asians, and Europeans organized by the Council of African Organizations marched the six blocks from Hyde Park corner to the American embassy at Grosvenor square. A strong police detachment kept watch.

CHICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE

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# SCENE QUIET AT LAST RITES FOR MALCOLM

## Violence Absent Despite Threat

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

New York, Feb. 27—Malcolm X, the apostle of violence who died a violent death, was buried peacefully today in an atmosphere of tension and surrounded by an army of police.

Thousands surrounded a church in Harlem where Moslem services were held. About 1,000 mourners were inside. Those outside listened to the 31-minute funeral service over loud speakers.

Threats had been made that the church would be bombed. No violence materialized.

### Widow With Relatives

Chief among the mourners was the 39-year-old Malcolm's widow, mother of four and pregnant with a fifth. Dressed in black, she sat with relatives and friends in a pew at the front of the church.

After the service Malcolm's body was borne in a heavily guarded cortege to Ferncliffe cemetery at Hartsdale in nearby Westchester county. He was interred in a grave 150 yards from that of James Powell, a 15-year-old Negro youth whose killing last summer touched off widespread riots in Harlem.

Malcolm X, an apostate Black Muslim who formed his own Black Nationalist group, died last Sunday in the Audubon ballroom in up-

per Manhattan as he prepared to deliver one of his inflammatory speeches. He preached separation of the races and advocated violence if that was the only way it could be brought about.

### Two Men Are Held

Police, meanwhile, were holding two men in connection with the murder, one allegedly an "enforcer" for the Black Muslim movement whose headquarters are in Chicago. They were reported ready to close in on a third suspect. It is believed

that a five-man team was responsible for Malcolm's death.

Malcolm's body had been moved under heavy police guard in the early morning hours from the Unity funeral home in Harlem to the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ. The church had been lent for the occasion by its pastor, the Rev. Alvin A. Childs, the "unofficial mayor of Harlem."

Malcolm's white robed body lay in the church facing eastward toward Mecca as Ahmed Hassoum, representative of the Islamic center in Geneva, Switzerland, arose to deliver a eulogy. Sobs and moans filled the church.

### Applause Is Evoked

At one point he evoked applause when he said:

"The highest thing a Moslem can aspire to is to die on the battlefield and not at the bedside. Those who die on the battlefield are not dead—they are alive."

Ossie Davis, a Negro actor, producer, and friend of Malcolm, delivered the principal eulogy.

Davis said that there were some people who regarded Malcolm as a "demon and monster," and as a "racist who was only bringing evil to the cause for which we struggle." This, he said was not true.

He said Malcolm represented the manhood of the Negro people's "manhood—our living black manhood—and in honoring him we honor the best in ourselves."

### His Widow Weeps

As Malcolm's coffin was closed at the conclusion of the service his widow wept. Other women in the congregation shrieked and moaned.

A portion of the service was televised nationally. Services started a half hour late because police carefully searched and scrutinized all the mourners.

Malcolm X, or Alhaji Malik Shabazz, as he was known since his pilgrimage to Mecca last year, was buried as a Moslem. Officials of the religion said he had gone to his grave as a believer in no other god than Allah.

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CHICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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[AP Wirephoto]

Widow of Malcolm X views husband's grave at services in HARTSELT, N. Y. Extremist leader was slain by assassins.



# Enforcer' Held In Malcolm Death Called Member Of Muslim Sect—

NEW YORK (AP) — The first direct police link of the Black Muslims to the assassination of Malcolm X came Friday, with the arrest of a husky Negro enforcer for the militant sect. Held without bail on a homicide charge, he was the second man accused in the slaying.

Since the 39-year-old Malcolm was shot down at a black supremacy rally last Sunday, police have worked on the theory that his bitter 1963 break with Elijah Muhammad's Chicago-based Black Muslims lay behind the slaying. Muhammad has denied any complicity by his group.

Thirty-five hours after the assassination, the Black Muslim's Harlem Mosque 7 was wrecked by an explosion and fire, in apparent revenge for Malcolm's killing.

However, it was not until early Friday that police charged a direct role in the assassination to a known Muslim.

They arrested Norman 3X Butler, 26, a practitioner of the deadly art of karate. He reportedly is a member of Muhammad's elite guard of disciplinary enforcers.

Free in bond, Norman 3X was accused last month of taking a shot at another defector from the Black Muslim ranks. The victim escaped with his life, however.



NORMAN BUTLER

Norman 3X was charged with acting in concert on Malcolm's slaying with Talmadge Hayer, 22, who was arrested immediately after the assassination and also accused of homicide. Shot by a Malcolm bodyguard, Hayer since has been held in Bellevue Hospital. He has refused to say whether he is a Black Muslim.

In all, police believe five men took part in the assassination plot, two as decoys and three as actual triggermen.

Malcolm's body has been on display since Tuesday at the Unity Funeral Home at 8th Av. and 126th St. Thousands have visited the bier. One of the mourners, a woman, collapsed in hysteria outside the mortuary and was taken to a hospital in an ambulance.

At one point, an elderly man, Sheik Ahmed Hassoun, with a flowing white beard, in a white turban and dark robe, arrived to dress Malcolm's body in Muslim garb for Saturday's 9:30 a.m. funeral. He and Malcolm met in Mecca, Islam's holy city.

The man, a teacher of Arabic in Malcolm's movement, carried a forked stick. When newsmen sought to talk to him, a companion waved them away, saying:

"A silent tongue does not betray its owner."

Maximum police security was planned for the funeral, to be held at the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ at Amsterdam Av. and 147th St.

An effort to force the closing of all business establishments along Harlem's main crosstown thoroughfare, 125th St., apparently collapsed. The closing had been urged for 3 p.m. Friday and all day Saturday as a memorial to Malcolm, and boycotts had been threatened against storekeepers who did not co-operate.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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FIVE STAR FINAL

DATE: 2-27-65

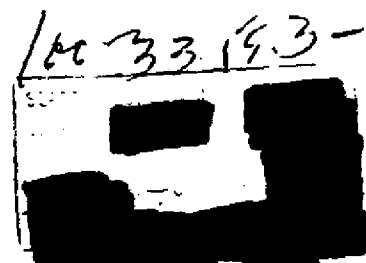
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EDITOR: JOHN TREPMANT

CHICAGO OFFICE 242

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### **Malcolm Funeral** **In Harlem Church**

NEW YORK (AP) — Kindness resulted in Islamic funeral services in a Protestant church for Malcolm X.

The family of the slain black nationalist leader had difficulty in obtaining a Harlem church for the funeral.

Then Bishop Alvin S. Childs offered the use of his Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, at Amsterdam Av. and W. 147th St., for the service.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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# Throng at Malcolm Rites in N.Y.

Daily News Wire Services

NEW YORK — Funeral services in Harlem Saturday for Malcolm X, assassinated black nationalist leader, attracted throngs of mourners and an army of police.

The controversial figure was laid out in a white robe for the ceremony in Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, Protestant, which volunteered its facilities for the Islamic rites.

Police manned barricades that stretched three blocks in front of the church and into side streets. Other police were stationed in doorways and on rooftops to guard against possible violence. They kept spectators moving and barred autos from the street.

THE WIDOW of Malcolm X wore a heavy black veil at the services.

Police admitted mourners to the church one by one. High-ranking members among Malcolm's followers stood alongside police at the church door, looking for possible trouble-makers.

Policewomen searched women's handbags.

Most of the mourners in the 1,700-person capacity church were Negroes, the majority women. There were some whites.

The services were carried on loud speakers so those outside could hear.

The body of Malcolm had been brought from a funeral home to the church early in the morning with an escort of a dozen police cars.

MALCOLM was shot to death six days ago as he started to address a rally of his followers.

The shooting was followed by the firebomb destruction of a Harlem mosque of the Black Muslim movement, from which Malcolm had defected. There were telephoned threats that the funeral church would be bombed.

Among those attending the services for Malcolm X were James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Dick Gregory, comedian active in the civil rights movement; Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1963 Negro march on Washington; Wally Dukes, former basketball star; Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, and Ossie Davis, Negro actor.

POLICE said the first direct link between the slaying of Malcolm and the cult he said was out to get him was forged Friday with the arrest on homicide charges of Black Muslim "enforcer" Norman 3X Butler.

One police official said Butler's arrest might help the situation. He said it was proof

that steps are being taken to solve the case.

"The Muslims are afraid of Malcolm's people and Malcolm's people are afraid of the Muslims," he said. "The city is afraid and Harlem is afraid. Everyone asks what the police are doing, and this is what we are doing. This is something we can show."

POLICE DID NOT say whether Butler fired any of the 16 shots that killed Malcolm. Witnesses said that three gunmen—one armed with a sawed off shotgun and the other two with pistols—shot him as he started to address a rally of his followers Sunday. The other two members of the assassin team started a fight in the audience to create a diversion.

Police said Talmadge Hayer, 22, Paterson, N.J., carried the shotgun. He was shot in the leg by one of Malcolm's bodyguards. The audience was beating him when police arrived and rescued and arrested him.

Butler tried unsuccessfully in 1963 to join the New York City police force. He passed all tests for patrolman except a character examination.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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A large force of police mingle with crowds outside the Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, in the Harlem section of New

York where funeral services were held today for slain Malcolm X.

# Harlem Tense as Funeral Is Held for Mal X

**NEW YORK (AP)** — Sorrowing followers of Malcolm X, assassinated black nationalist leader, gave him a Muslim funeral today in a tense Harlem atmosphere—but threatened violence did not erupt.

A heavy detail of police mingled with mourners inside as well as outside the church, which anonymous phone callers had threatened to bomb. A police search uncovered no bombs.

The solemn ceremony was broken by applause at one point when a speaker said the bearded controversial Malcolm X, who was shot down at a rally 6 days ago, died "on the battlefield . . . not in bed" in a quest for human equality and dignity.

## Police Barricades

Police manned barricades along a three-block stretch and stood on roofs as thousands of persons gathered outside the church.

The body of Malcolm was laid out in a neck-to-foot white robe in a gleaming copper casket for the ceremony in Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, Protestant, which volunteered its facilities as a "humanitarian gesture."

Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, attired in black with a heavy veil, sat with relatives and friends in the front of the mourners. She was accompanied by Malcolm's sister, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins of Boston.

## Faces Mecca

The coffin faced eastward toward Mecca, the Muslim shrine city, during the service.

The police detail in the church was augmented by Malcolm's bodyguards, serving as ushers, who stood protectively near the widow.

She sat motionless as she heard Malcolm eulogized as "a prince—our own black, shiny prince, who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so."

Sobs and moans broke out from time to time during the 55-minute service.

The coffin was carried from the church to a blue hearse. The widow entered a blue limousine behind the hearse.

## Near Youth's Grave

The crowd outside stood mute as the cortege, flanked by police cars, moved slowly away toward the cemetery, about 20 miles from Harlem.

Malcolm's burial place was in Ferncliffe cemetery in Hartsdale, in neighboring Westchester county, 150 yards from the grave of James Powell, 15, a Negro youth whose killing touched off riots last summer in Harlem.

Young Powell was shot by an off-duty police officer who said the youth approached him with a knife.

Westchester Sheriff John E. Hoy said police had been watching the cemetery since yesterday to guard against anyone disturbing the grave site.

## Seek Troublemakers

Police admitted mourners to the church one by one. High-ranking members among Malcolm's followers stood alongside police at the church door, looking for possible troublemakers.

Policewomen searched handbags of women, seeking weapons.

Most of the mourners in the 1,700-person capacity church were Negroes, the majority women. There were some whites.

As the service began, it was announced over loudspeakers that the church was full to capacity and that no one else would be admitted. The services were carried on loud speakers so those outside could hear.

The service was performed by Sheik Ahmed Hassoun, a member of the Sunni Muslims, who reportedly met Malcolm X in Mecca and came here to teach in Malcolm's mosque.

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CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DIAMOND FINAL

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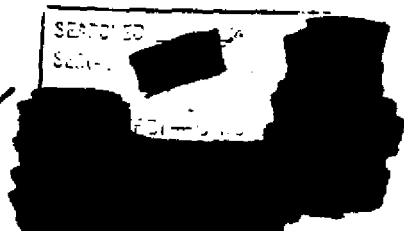
CHICAGO OFFICE

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#### Moved in Secret

The body of Malcolm had been brought from a funeral home to the church in the early morning hours with an escort of a dozen police cars.

When Mrs. Shabazz arrived at the church accompanying the body she was greeted by the glare of television lights. She refused to step out of the car until the lights were turned off.

The TV cameramen refused to shut them off, so she rode directly into an adjoining garage and entered the church thru a side entrance.

The Malcolm shooting was followed by the fire bomb destruction of a Harlem mosque of the Black Muslim movement, from which Malcolm had defected.

#### Notables Present

Among those attending the services for Malcolm X were James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Dick Gregory, comedian active in the civil rights movement; Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1964 Negro march on Washington; Wally Dukes, basketball star; Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, and Ossie Davis, Negro actor.

Among those sending messages were Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; the Los Angeles chapter of the national association for the advancement of colored people,

and various muslim and African groups.

#### Message from Nkrumah

An unidentified Sudanese speaker, representing the Islamic center in Geneva, Switzerland, drew applause when he said Malcolm had died on "the battlefield — not in bed" and that this was the highest level of Muslim aspiration.

A message to Malcolm's widow from Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, president of the African republic of Ghana, said Malcolm was dedicated to human equality and dignity.

"His work for the cause of freedom," Nkrumah wrote, "shall not be in vain."

During the 4 days the slain Negro leader's body lay in the chapel, 22,000 persons passed the coffin.

#### Pleads for Calm

After Bishop Child, the "unofficial mayor" of Harlem, disclosed the bomb threats, the Amsterdam News, the largest weekly Negro newspaper in the country, pleaded for community calm.

"This will not only show due respect to Malcolm X, but it will also serve to confound his critics, who would like nothing better than to see black people rioting over his remains.

"Let's give Malcolm the warmth and respect that is due him. But let's be cool about it! Steady Eddie!"

As Malcolm's followers made final preparations for his funeral, police reportedly were ready to arrest the third of five men believed to have been his assassins.

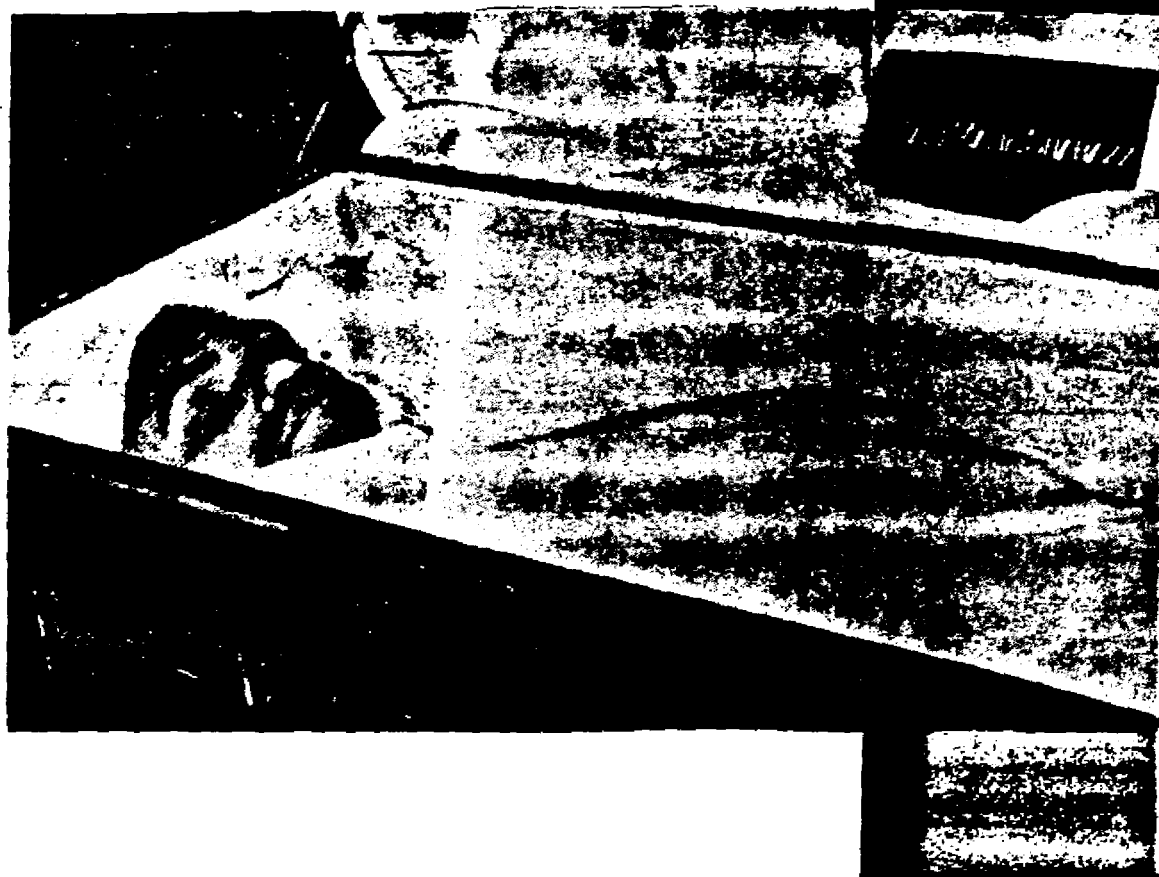
The two now in custody are Talmadge Hayer, 22, a Negro from Paterson, N. J.; and Norman 3X Butler, 26, identified as an enforcer for the Black Muslims—the sect Malcolm X, 39, broke with to form his own cult.

#### Wanted to Be Cop

It was learned that Butler has tried to become a New York policeman and passed all the examination but was rejected because of his character.

NEW YORK — The body of slain Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X lies in repose prior to funeral services. As a follower of the Islamic religion, Malcolm's body was prepared in traditional fashion. It is wrapped in white robes which leave only his face exposed. Nameplate bears Malcolm's name in the nation of Islam, and the title preceding his name indicates that he had made a pilgrimage to the holy city, Mecca. Burial preparations were made by Sheikh Ahmed Raza Khan, who had met Malcolm in the holy city. [Story of funeral on page 1.]

(AP Wirephoto)



## SOLICIT FUNDS FOR WIDOW OF MALCOLM X

NEW YORK (AP)—Several Negro women today announced they are soliciting contributions for the widow of slain Malcolm X and her four young children.

The Committee of Concerned Mothers headed by Mrs. Sidney Poitier, Actress Ruby Dee, Singer-Actress Abby Lincoln, and Mrs. Michael Olatunji, said its sole purpose is to raise funds for "the family's pressing need for food, clothing, and shelter."

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, pregnant with her fifth child, was left homeless when a fire bomb wrecked the Queens house they were living in. The group said the widow is "totally without resources."

CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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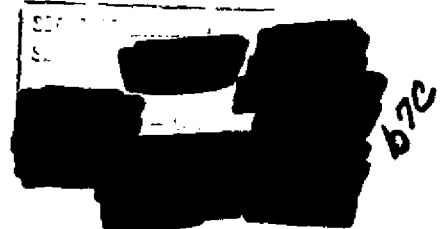
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# 2d Suspect Held in Death Of Malcolm X

Daily News Wire Services

NEW YORK — An unemployed Negro described by police as a "Black Muslim enforcer" and former student of Malcolm X was arrested early Friday and charged with homicide in the black nationalist leader's slaying.

Limping as he strode into police headquarters with a bandage on his right ankle, Norman 3X Butler, 26, of the Bronx, was the second man charged in the case.

Police said Butler is awaiting trial in another Muslim execution attempt.

SOURCES within the black supremacist organization said Butler was taught the cult's creed by Malcolm and had been one of his "faithful followers" until Malcolm left the group to form his own organization.

Butler was brought to police headquarters under a heavy guard for fingerprinting and questioning.

Two carloads of armed police then escorted him to Criminal Court for arraignment.

AT HIS arraignment, where he was held without bail, court records showed that Butler had applied two years ago to be a policeman but was rejected.

His bandaged ankle was not explained. But the assassination of Malcolm X by three to five men at a meeting of the rebel Black Muslim's followers triggered a melee of slugging and shooting.

Malcolm, 39, was felled by 13 shots from three guns as he started to address a rally of 400 persons in a ballroom in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan.

TALMADGE Hayer, 22, a Negro from Paterson, N.J. who was captured outside the ballroom after he had been shot in the leg by one of Malcolm's bodyguards, also has been charged with homicide.



Norman 3X Butler, 26, held by New York police in slaying of Malcolm X. Police called him an "enforcer" for the Black Muslims. (AP)

Police alleged he used a shotgun, one of three weapons employed in the deadly attack.

Police said Hayer has been unco-operative and has refused to disclose whether he is a Black Muslim.

Butler's identification by police as a Black Muslim was the first official link of the Chicago-based sect with the slaying.

(A spokesman for the Black Muslims at their Chicago headquarters said he could not identify Butler as a member of the sect. Registration files were being checked.)

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# Malcolm X Called Martyr in Africa

WASHINGTON (AP) —USIA director Carl Rowan says some African newspapers are portraying Malcolm X as a martyred integrationist hero instead of as "an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler, who became a racial fanatic."

Expressing amazement at some of the press accounts in Asia as well as Africa, Rowan, a Negro, told a Foreign Service Assn. luncheon speech that the U.S. Information Agency and its radio arm, the Voice of America, "did a zealous job" in telling the world about the Malcolm X murder.

But it has not been enough to prevent a host of African nations based on misinforma-

tion and misrepresentations of the issues involved," he said.

"Mind you: here was a Negro who preached segregation and race hatred, killed by another Negro, presumably from another organization that preaches segregation and race hatred—and neither of them representative of more than a tiny minority of the Negro population of America."

ROWAN QUOTED a Nigerian paper, the Daily Times, as saying that "assassination of leading personalities is becoming a pastime in the United States" and Malcolm X "will have a place in the place of martyrs."

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## 2 Negroes Quizzed In Malcolm Slaying

NEW YORK (UPI)—Two Negro men were apprehended by police early Friday in connection with the murder of Black nationalist Malcolm X.

The two suspects were taken to a Manhattan precinct station for questioning. Two high-ranking police officers, an assistant district attorney and a police stenographer were summoned.

The men were not identified.

Thomas Hagan, 22, one of the alleged triggermen who assassinated Malcolm X at a Manhattan auditorium where he was speaking last Sunday, already is in custody. He was shot by one of Malcolm's bodyguards in the melee after the slaying and was rescued by police from frenzied followers of the Negro extremist.

Police believe between three and five men were in the murder squad that infiltrated the auditorium where Malcolm was to address a crowd of 500. He was struck by a hail of pistol and shotgun fire.

The arrests came as militant Negro leaders warned Harlem merchants to close their stores for the weekend in tribute to Malcolm or face a boycott and

mass picketing.

The merchants said they would defy the demand but would allow employees to attend the funeral services Saturday.

Police were on guard throughout the area against another outbreak of violence.

Adding to the tension was the discovery Thursday night of a cache of dynamite in Rochester, N.Y., that police believed was intended to blow up a Black Muslim mosque there. Malcolm X had broken with the Black Muslims and set up his own group. His followers blamed the Black Muslims for his assassination.

Police acting on a tip found the five sticks of dynamite in an abandoned car. There were no arrests.

Harlem merchants also reportedly were being told by an unidentified group of Negroes that they must make "donations" of cash and merchandise for Malcolm X's family.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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### 'The Tragedy Is'

It ~~will~~ probably never be known, or even correctly estimated, the violence caused by the teachings of Malcolm X. However, the fact remains that the only act of violence with which he ever was personally concerned, was his de-

mise. Whatever he believed, right or wrong, he died for it.

That foul assassination can come to any American citizen, is the tragedy of his life that we all must share.

Donald K. Fowler

### 'Of The Man Himself'

Within the last week two Negroes have passed away. One was mourned by Negro and white alike, and paid tribute to by thousands, including the President of the United States. The other was assassinated and will be mourned by few. So it isn't a question of a man's color, but of the man himself.

Sylvia Teller

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

*Final*  
FIVE STAR FINAL

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### Malcolm X

It will probably never be known, or even correctly estimated, the violence caused by the teachings of Malcolm X. However, the fact remains that the only act of violence with which he ever was personally concerned was his demise.

Whatever he believed, right or wrong, he died for it. That foul assassination can come to any American citizen is the tragedy of his life that we must share.

DONALD FOWLER

Chicago

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# 5,000 MUSLIMS MEET TODAY IN SECURITY VISE

## All Will Be Searched as They Enter Hall

BY THOMAS FITZPATRICK

The annual convention of the Black Muslims opens today in the Chicago Coliseum amid an atmosphere of mounting tension.

Elijah Muhammad, 60, head of the black supremacy movement, has promised to speak to more than 5,000 followers despite the fact he has been reported marked for death.

There have been threats that followers of Malcolm X will kill Muhammad. The threats have followed the assassination in New York last Sunday of Malcolm X, a former Black Muslim who became leader of the Black Nationalists.

### Police on Guard

Chicago police are determined that no one will get an opportunity to kill Muhammad during this week's three-day convention.

Muhammad is determined, too. Elaborate security precautions will be taken, and Muhammad will not make a move unless accompanied by at least six members of his security force, the Fruit of Islam brigade.

Each of the 5,000 persons entering the Coliseum at 1513 Wabash av. today will undergo a rigorous search by Fruit of Islam members.

### Bar All Weapons

All sharp objects will be confiscated. No weapons will be allowed. Nobody with liquor on his breath will be admitted.

John Ali, Muslim press relations officer, has ordered that reporters and photographers arrive at 1 p. m., an hour before the convention is to start.

They will undergo a rigorous search. Any policemen who attempt to enter the Coliseum will be searched and will not be allowed inside unless they give up their weapons.

### Police to Stay Out

Task Force Commander Robert Lynskey said the police will remain outside and will be ready for any emergency. Members of the police bomb arson squad will check the building before and after each

session to make sure that no bombs have been placed there.

Today's session is being held in honor of the Muslim's founder, W. D. Fard of Detroit, who disappeared under mysterious circumstances in 1933.

Elijah Poole, alias Elijah Muhammad, replaced Fard, who has since been proclaimed as the prophet of Allah.

### Muhammad in Seclusion

Elijah Muhammad, who has parlayed his leadership into great personal wealth, is called the messenger of the prophet of Allah.

He has been in seclusion in his mansion at 4847 Greenwood av. since the slaying of Malcolm X.

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# Muslim 'Enforcer' Seized in New York

## 2D ARREST IN

## MALCOLM SLAYING

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# Cops Here Watch Coliseum, 6,000 Gather for Elijah

As Elijah Muhammad and 6,000 of his sect met here in the Coliseum, New York City police arrested a 26-year-old Negro they called "The Enforcer" of the Black Muslim movement.

He was charged in the fatal shooting Sunday of Malcolm X, 39, who defected more than a year ago from the Black Muslim cult, of which Elijah Muhammad calls himself "The Messenger."

The man arrested is Norman Butler, who calls himself "3X" and lives at 661 Rosedale av., the Bronx.

## Free on Bond

Butler has been free on \$10,000 bond in the Jan. 6 shooting of another Muslim defector. The earlier victim was a corrections officer who was setting up a mosque of his own in the Bronx, as Malcolm had done.

Butler is the second man charged in the assassination during a rally of Malcolm X, who added the preaching of violence to Elijah Muhammad's gospel of hatred for the whites.

The first man arrested for the afternoon killing in a Harlem ballroom was Talmadge Hayer, 22, a Negro, of Patterson, N. J. Witnesses said he wielded the shotgun used in the murder. He has not been identified as a member of the Black Muslim sect.

## Hint Elijah "Double"

As the nation-wide cult opened its 3-day annual convention in the 20,000-seat auditorium at 7513 Wabash av., a rumor spread thru the south side that Elijah Muhammad has fled and is represented by a double.

The 69-year-old cult leader is said to be in terror of his life because of vows of vengeance sworn by Black Muslim defectors loyal to the dynamic Malcolm X.

A 32-year-old who identifies himself



**NORMAN X BUTLER**  
Charged with homicide

as one of the national spiritual leaders of the true orthodox Islamic faith, said Elijah's "stand-in" for many public appearances has long been his brother, Kalil, 3 years his junior.

Native of Georgia, Elijah's name at birth was Poole. He is a native of Georgia who in 1936 moved to Detroit and met Wallace Fard, founder of the Black Muslim movement. When Fard disappeared in 1933, Elijah took over. He is an ex-convict.

There have previously been rumors that he has a brother who closely resembles him, but south side residents are now taking them seriously for the first time. They say Kalil has frequently taken Elijah's place when he was ill.

Forty clear photographs of Elijah and some said to be of his brother, were shown to a CHICAGO'S AMERICAN reporter. They appear identical until viewed closely under a magnifying glass, when slight

differences in their features are apparent.

## "Younger and Healthier"

The pictures taken of the man who this week called himself Elijah Muhammad in press conferences at his home, 4947 Woodlawn av., are said to be of his brother. The orthodox Islamic leader said the man in the pictures appears younger and healthier than Elijah.

The "exiled" grandson of Elijah Muhammad, 22-year-old Hassan Sharrieff, 1038 W. 80th st., told CHICAGO'S AMERICAN that his grandfather offered him \$500 a week, my own home, and my stepfather's position as head of the Fruit of Islam to return to the fold.

Sharrieff is a stepson of Raymond Sharrieff, heir-apparent to Elijah Muhammad as cult leader since the defection of Malcolm X.

## Still No Decision

The younger Sharrieff, asked whether he intends to petition for reinstatement in the Black

Muslims as Muhammad's son Wallace, 31, is doing, said, "I am still undecided. I do not understand nor accept my grandfather's philosophy of God. I am still against his treatment of his followers. I still feel the finances are going to Elijah Muhammad."

Muhammad, who preaches supremacy of the Negro race as well as hatred of the white man, and who wants complete separation of the races rather than integration, calls himself the Messenger of Allah and claims to talk directly with God.

Unprecedented security measures have been arranged to protect Elijah today, tomorrow and Sunday during his five speeches to his followers and trips along the 4 miles from his home to the Coliseum.

## Mosque Burned Down

Immediately after Malcolm X was killed one of Elijah's mosques, a 4-story building in Harlem, was destroyed by fire bombs. Malcolm's followers publicly vowed death to Elijah as they wept at the bier of their leader. Some headed for Chicago.

Seven men from the Chicago police bomb and arson squad made a last-minute check of the 30,000-square-foot Coliseum

today before Elijah's followers enter for their convention at 2 p. m.

No police will be assigned inside the convention hall. A 45-man detail headed by Comdr. Robert Lynskey has been assigned to the Coliseum site.

"We are on the lookout for men carrying weapons," Lynskey said.

The Fruit of Islam, the karate-trained elite corps of Elijah's Black Muslims, will search all who enter the convention hall. Newspaper reporters and photographers were instructed to come early, be searched carefully, and sit in the front row.

## 2-Part Speech

Elijah's first address late today is divided into two parts: "The Birth of Our Savior" and "And to Whom He is a Savior." The day is dedicated to the late Wallace Fard, whom Elijah calls "Savior."

Elijah plans his major address at 4 p. m. tomorrow, when he will discuss his 3-year economic program for "The So-Called Negroes in North America." Elijah's followers do not call themselves Negroes, but "blacks." They say Negro is a word invented by white slaveowners.

While Elijah is said to be marked for death here before the week-end is over, Malcolm X is to be buried tomorrow. His body will be removed from the funeral chapel to a church tonight.



# Muslim 'Enforcer' Charged in Killing Of Malcolm X

Daily News Wire Services

NEW YORK—Police Friday charged a 26-year-old Negro they identified as a Black Muslim "enforcer" with homicide in the assassination of Malcolm X, black nationalist leader.

Norman Butler, of the Bronx, was the second to be charged by police since the slaying Sunday of Malcolm X, who bolted from the Black Muslims more than a year ago and formed his own rival Muslim sect.

Malcolm, 39, was felled by 13 shots from three guns as he started to address a rally of 400 persons in a ballroom in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan.

TALMADGE Hayer, 22, a Negro from Patterson, N.J., who was captured outside the ballroom after he had been shot in the leg by one of Malcolm's bodyguards, also has been charged with homicide. Police alleged he used a shotgun, one of three weapons employed in the deadly attack.

Police said Hayer has been unco-operative and has refused to disclose whether he is a Black Muslim.

Butler's identification by police as a Black Muslim was the first official link of the Chicago-based sect with the slaying.

(A spokesman for the Black Muslims at their Chicago headquarters said he could not identify Butler as a member of the sect. Registration files were being checked.)

ASST. CHIEF inspector Joseph L. Coyle said Butler was arrested at his residence, did not resist, "but seemed surprised."

Butler was found, Coyle said, "as the result of intensive investigation and of questioning many witnesses."

Police believe five men were involved in the assassination.

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# Demand Shops Close to Honor Malcolm

BY WALTER BILITZ

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

New York, Feb. 25—Manhattan merchants along 125th street, Harlem's main shopping strip, were being pressured today to close their shops tomorrow, beginning at 3 p. m., and all day Saturday "in respect for Malcolm X and in observance of what he meant to our community and all oppressed people."

The funeral of the slain Black Nationalist leader is set for 9:30 a. m. Saturday in Faith temple, Church of God in Christ, in Harlem.

The demand to close the shops came from a group in Harlem calling itself the Federation for Independent Political Action. Its members distributed leaflets warning that unless store owners along 125th street "from river to river" closed their doors this week-end, they would be boycotted.

## "Gave His Life"

The leaflets were headed: "Malcolm gave his life, sister Betty gave her husband, four babies gave their father." They read in part:

"Those stores that refuse to cooperate are showing contempt for our community and

especially our bereavement over our beloved Malcolm. . . .

"We must not be led into fratricide. This should not be war between rivals of a religious sect but open season on . . . our common enemy that suppresses us all.

"If the stores refuse to close, they identify with our enemy—therefore we must close them—pass them by.

## Shoppers Are Admonished

"Coöperate. This is the very least you could give."

The leaflets also carried an admonition to week-end shoppers:

"Those that shop along 125th street during the hours that the

stores are to be closed identify with the murderous stooge that allowed the terror structure to use his hands to kill brother Malcolm."

There were also reports that a band of Negroes are approaching Harlem merchants demanding "donations" of cash and merchandise in memory of Malcolm. One merchant told police he was warned that unless he contributed and closed his store this week-end he would be "bombed out."

## About 5,000 There

Meanwhile, police continued to keep a close check on Harlem and especially around the Unity funeral home where the body of Malcolm X lay in a burnished copper coffin for a

third day of public viewing.

Police later apprehended two Negro men in connection with the slaying of Malcolm.

Yesterday police estimated that about 5,000 persons had filed past the coffin, the overwhelming majority of them Negro.

Rainy weather during most of today appeared to lessen racial tension and factional differences between Black Muslim groups here. On Tuesday, about 35 hours after Malcolm X was assassinated, the Harlem headquarters of the Black Muslim movement, from which Malcolm was expelled last March, was destroyed by explosions and fire in what police suspect was a reprisal.

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**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)**

**FROM: SAC, TAMPA (105-7)**

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Re Tampa tel to Director 2/23/65 and Bureau  
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of sources and compromise their effectiveness in the Internal  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Tampa, Florida  
February 25, 1965

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NATION OF ISLAM

[REDACTED]

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A characterization of the  
Nation of Islam and [REDACTED]  
is contained in appendix pages.

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[REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF DECLASS  
DATE 2/16/84

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JHE/WJH/LL  
ON 2/16/84

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GROUP 1  
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NATION OF ISLAM

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FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following  
(p. 4) statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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1 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Page(s) are Appendix pages used to  
(p. 3) characterize "Nation of Islam" (NOI), Muslim Mosque, Inc. and for Organization of  
African American Unity. Duplicate copies are located throughout Malcolm X Headquarters  
and New York file.

- ☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

CG 100-33593-217 pages 3, 4

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593)

DATE: 2/25/65

FROM :

SA [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - MMI

This is to advise that in reference to New York's telephone call to Chicago this date that the following confidential informants of the Chicago Office have no information whatsoever regarding TALMADGE HAYES or any of the other names listed below:

THOMAS HAGEN  
TALMADGE HAYER  
TALMADGE X  
TX HAYES  
TX HAYER  
TX HAGER  
TALMADGE HAGER

Source

Date Contacted

Contacting Agent

b2  
b7D  
b7C

SA [REDACTED]  
SA [REDACTED]  
SA [REDACTED]  
SA [REDACTED]

Indices of the Chicago Office contained no information whatsoever which could be identified as pertaining to TALMADGE HAYER under his true name or under any of the other names listed above, Based on available information.

b7D

[REDACTED]

(1) [REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] b7C

100-33593-216

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DATE 2/16/84 BY 8269 JHE/wab/dd

# Probe Malcolm's Foreign Ties

## Break in Case Is Expected Soon by Police

BY WALTER BILTZ  
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

New York, Feb. 24 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation today refused to confirm or deny it was involved in the investigation into Malcolm X's assassination.

Donald Roney, special agent in charge of the security division here, said he could not comment on New York newspaper reports that Negro undercover agents were in Harlem checking into Malcolm's foreign associations for possible clues to his murder Sunday.

The 39-year-old chieftain, who was shot and killed just as he was about to address a rally of his Organization for Afro-American Unity, was a familiar figure in the delegates lounge of the United Nations headquarters here in recent years. He also had made several trips to Europe and Africa, in some cases as the guest of foreign governments.

### 'An International Plot'

James Farmer, director of the Congress of Racial Equality expressed the belief Malcolm's death "was an international plot, altho the executioners themselves weren't foreign agents."

Farmer is one of several Negro

leaders who have suggested that the ex-convict former Black Muslim lieutenant may have been killed because he refused to serve as a foreign pawn, and because he was turning his back on extremist, anti-white hate methods of attaining equal rights for American Negroes.

"It is significant that he was coming into the mainstream of Negro thought," Farmer said. "That is, anti-segregation, pro-integration."

### Explanation Is Deeper

"Most people are leaping to the easy conclusion that the Black Muslims killed Malcolm," he said. "The explanation is much deeper, much more sinister. It has international implications."

Malcolm reportedly told friends he was considering an offer from President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt to head the African section of Cairo's foreign ministry. He also claimed to have been approached to work for President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

The speculation that Malcolm was trying to dissociate himself from "foreign entanglements" was coupled with questions concerning how he could afford trips to Cairo, Accra, and Mecca, a boyguard, tailored clothes, impeccable grooming (manicured nails, trimmed goatee, etc.) when he often claimed to be broke.

Break Expected Soon  
Meanwhile, Assistant Chief

Inspector Joseph L. Coyle, in charge of the investigation, said he would confer with the district attorney's office on the case. He declined to elaborate, saying only that his crew of 50 detectives was "on the right track" and "I hope to have a break [in the case] in the very near future."

Speaking at the Wadsworth avenue station, Coyle said a number of witnesses to the murder were shown photographs in an attempt to identify the killers. He did not say if anyone had recognized one or more of the assassins.

### Hayer Still Silent

Only one person has been arrested from among five believed to be conspirators in the slaying of the black nationalist. Charged with homicide and under police guard in Bellevue hospital prison ward is Talmadge Hayer, 22, a Negro, of Paterson, N. J. He was wounded in the leg in the melee touched off by the shooting of Malcolm X. He has refused to tell police anything about the assassination including who his accomplices were.

Coyle said one phase of the investigation was concentrated outside the city, but he declined to say where.

In another development, Reuben Francis, 33, was continued in \$10,000 bail today for a hearing March 3 when he will appear in criminal court on charges of shooting Hayer. Francis, a Negro, was Malcolm's bodyguard.

### Many View Body

At a Harlem funeral home, the body of Malcolm X lay beneath a glass shield in a burnished copper coffin for a second day of public viewing. Some 200 persons were waiting behind police barricades when the door to the funeral home was opened.

By late evening police estimated that 5,000 persons, overwhelmingly Negro, had filed past the coffin. Yesterday 2,000 viewed the body. Bomb threats received at the funeral home forced several evacuations of the premises.

Another threat was directed at Harlem's Faith temple, mentioned as a possible site of Malcolm's funeral. Police searched it in vain after an anonymous caller told the pastor's wife, "If Malcolm's funeral is held there, we will bomb the place."

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# HEAVY GUARD READY FOR MUSLIM CHIEF

## Prepare to Protect Convention

BY THOMAS FITZPATRICK  
Elijah Muhammad will be one of the most closely guarded men in America tomorrow when he makes his first appearance before 6,000 members of his Black Muslim group in the Coliseum.

Chicago policemen and Muhammad's own bodyguards will protect him. There have been threats that followers of Malcolm X will kill Muhammad, 68-year-old ex-convict who has acquired great wealth since taking over the sect.

### Guard to Be Tripled

Comdr. Robert Lynskey of the police task force said he has made arrangements to triple the normal complement of men around the building at 1513 Wabash av. where the convention will be held.

Lynskey indicated there also will be plain clothes men inside the convention hall to make sure no effort is made to shoot Muhammad in the same manner that Malcolm X met death in Harlem last Sunday.

"In addition to this," Lynskey said, "we'll have a sufficient number of men near the Coliseum to take care of any emergency."

### Convention Plans Continue

Despite the continued threats of bombs and even of an invasion by as many as 100 followers of Malcolm X from New York City, there is no indication that the Black Muslims have any idea of postponing the convention.

Meanwhile Saturn Airlines canceled a flight which was to bring 150 members of the Black Muslims from New York City to Chicago. Ronald Grillman, regional manager of the charter flight service, said it was feared that the plane might be bombed.

Cassius Clay, heavyweight boxing champion, has apparently taken over as a quasi-official spokesman for the supremacy cult in the last few days.

"Wouldn't that be awful," Clay said yesterday, "for a man with 100,000 or 200,000 followers to be afraid and not show up?"

Clay assured listeners that not only would Elijah Muhammad show up for his scheduled appearances tomorrow and Sunday, but that he might even be accompanied to the speaker's rostrum by Clay.

### Clay May Speak

"I'm going to be right up there alongside him," said Clay "and I might have a little talk myself."

Sgt. Allen Michaels of the police bomb and arson squad said that his men would search the Coliseum for bombs before and after each of the three sessions.

Meanwhile, Capt. William Duffy of the police intelligence unit continued to check out all reports of followers of Malcolm X who are reported either in the city or on their way here.

Police cars and members of Muhammad's personal guards continued to guard Muhammad's home at 4847 S. Woodlawn av.

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# Bomb Squad Checks Clock At Elijah's Home—Just Gift

The untimely arrival of a grandfather's clock at Elijah Muhammad's heavily-guarded South Side home Wednesday resulted in a quick call for the bomb squad.

The mahogany clock was unpacked from its crate, found to contain no explosives and finally delivered to the 19-room mansion at 4847 S. Woodlawn.

The incident was a bit of comic relief in the tense situation that has prevailed since the assassination last Sunday of Malcolm X, former protege of Muhammad.

## Slain At Meeting

Malcolm, who broke with Muhammad late in 1963 and formed his own fanatical black nationalistic movement, was shot down as he rose to address a meeting in a Manhattan ballroom.

His followers are believed to have earmarked Muhammad for death. Muhammad, 67-year-old "Messenger of Allah" in the Black Muslim movement, has denied that any of his people were responsible for Malcolm's death.

An REA deliver truck brought the crate to Muhammad's home. The uniformed driver explained to Muhammad's karate-trained personal

guards that he had a package for their chief. Nothing doing, they said, their suspicions aroused.

Sgt. Edward Neville of the bomb and arson squad went to the scene and gingerly unpacked the clock. After half-hour examination, he pronounced it safe.

Fortunately for the nerves of all concerned, the clock was not ticking because its counterweights had not been set.

The clock, purchased from Wannamaker's department store in Philadelphia, bore a card saying it was a gift to Muhammad from the

women of Temple No. 12.

Meanwhile, police delayed making a thorough search of the Coliseum, 1513 S. Wabash, where the Black Muslims will hold their annual national convention for three days starting Friday.

A man who identified himself as John Henderson called police Tuesday night and said a bomb has been concealed in the Coliseum and is set to go off when Muhammad addresses his followers.

## Timing Of Search

Robert Lynskey, commander of the task force, said the search will be made just before the convention opens to make

sure that no bomb is concealed between now and then.

Lt. Ronald Rae, head of the bomb and arson unit, discounted the report that a time-bomb has already been placed in the 80,000-square-foot hall.

It would take a genius to produce a bomb that would go off several days in the future, he said. The time limit for most delayed-action bombs is 12 hours, he added.

Lynskey said Muhammad will have "as much security as if he were President Johnson" when he appears at the convention. A 45-man detail with reinforcement nearby has been established for the convention.

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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A guard prepares to carry a grandfather's clock into Elijah Muhammed's home. The clock and crate in which it arrived were inspected by the bomb squad.

### 'What Violence Begets'

Most news articles I have read concerning the death of Malcolm X denounce violence. This is good, but there are always two sides to every coin. If everyone would stop ranting about the black extremist such as Malcolm X supposedly was, long enough to think of the terrible violent cruelties the white man has, and still is subjecting the black man to each day, it could be seen why such a black man was spawned and why more will be.

Blacks have grown very tired, and rightfully so, of cattle prods and billy clubs, cowardly night-riding Klansmen with their burning crosses and lynch ropes, lawmakers who say wait another 100 years and the Uncle Toms who agree.

When the white man stops his cruelties, then there will be no cause for such a man as Malcolm X to exist. Violence does beget violence!

Betty Washington

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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# Police Claim New Information Could Break Malcolm X Case

NEW YORK (AP) — A police official Wednesday said detectives have dug up information on the Malcolm X assassination "as to who may be responsible."

Ast. Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle declared:

"I hope to have a break in the very near future."

He declined comment when asked if investigators know the identities of the assassins, who put 13 gunshot wounds into Malcolm's chest in a spectacular weekend slaying.

Meanwhile, a bomb threat forced evacuation of the Harlem funeral home where Malcolm's body is on public display.

The two-story building was evacuated for 20 minutes while bomb squad members searched in vain. Similar threats were received Tuesday—but before the public had been admitted to the mortuary.

Another threat was directed at Harlem's Faith Temple Church of God in Christ, where Malcolm's funeral will be held at 9:30 a.m. Saturday. Police searched it but found nothing. It was announced that Malcolm will be accorded Muslim rites.

Malcolm, 39, fiery orator and tall, goateed Negro nationalist, was shot to death Sunday amid 500 of his followers at a rally of his Organization of Afro American Unity in a Washington Heights ballroom.

Coyle, in charge of the police investigation, said his men now are "on the right track."

He told newsmen that witnesses to the shooting were

being shown photographs in an attempt to identify the assassins. Coyle also mentioned an out-of-town phase of the murder investigation, but declined to say where.

Police worked on the theory that as many as five men took part in the assassination, which may have stemmed from Malcolm's bitter feud with the Black Muslims. However, Elijah Muhammad, Black Muslim leader, has denied any in-

volvement by his group.

One man was arrested Sunday in connection with Malcolm's slaying. He is Tamadge Hayer, 22, shot by a Malcolm bodyguard as he fled the ballroom where the assassination occurred. He was under heavy police guard at Bellevue Hospital. He has refused to say whether he is connected with the Muslims.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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# Reveals Malcolm's Role in Elijah Paternity Suit

BY SEYMOUR KORMAN  
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Los Angeles, Feb. 24—A Los Angeles attorney disclosed to-



Mrs. Root

day that Malcolm X, the Negro nationalist leader slain Sunday in New York, planned to be a witness against Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader, in two paternity suits pending here.

The lawyer, Mrs. Gladys Towles Root, said that Malcolm X, before he split with Muhammad, was an intermediary for the latter in trying to settle the claims of two women plaintiffs out of court.

## Offers to Testify

The women are Miss Evelyn Williams, 30, who alleges that Muhammad is the father of her daughter, Eva Marie, 4, and Miss Lucille Rosary, 32, who charges him with siring her three daughters, Saadi, 4; Lisha, 3, and Elizabeth, 7 months. Both women previously were secretaries for Muhammad in his Chicago office, Mrs. Root said.

Mrs. Root, whose flamboyant garb drew national attention a year ago when she was one of the defense attorneys in the Frank Sinatra Jr. kidnapping case, said that last Jan. 20 Malcolm X came to her office here and said he would testify for the two women.

"He told me," Mrs. Root related, "that after the paternity suits were filed July 2, 1964, Muhammad tried to induce an

assistant to assume responsibility for the paternity so that Muhammad could keep his spiritual image on a high plane in the eyes of his followers.

"Malcolm X said he intended to tell all this in court when the cases came to trial. He also said: 'If these cases aren't hurried, I'll never be alive.'

## Afraid of Violence

"Before the Jan. 28 meeting, in several conversations with Malcolm X, I reached the conclusion that if the matter of the paternity suits was not settled amicably, blood would be shed."

Since she filed the suits, Mrs. Root said, the two women have moved twice but still reside together. The attorney added there recently was an explosion at a dwelling next to the one the two women now occupy.

Mrs. Root said she has not attempted to get an early trial in the two suits because the women have been getting \$100 a month support for each child. She said the money came "from the church" but couldn't define this source more specifically. The paternity actions may have to be transferred to Chicago because that is where Muhammad has property in his own name, Mrs. Root said.

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# Not Out for Elijah. Says Malcolm Aide

BY MILT FREUDENHEIM  
Chicago Daily News Service

NEW YORK — A spokesman for the Malcolm X organization denied police reports that the murdered leader's followers are seeking vengeance in Chicago against Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad.

"The power structure is using the murder as a cover to get rid of anybody it wants to," he charged.

The spokesman, a well-spoken, polite, neatly dressed young man, declined to give his name. He said Malcolm's secretary, James Shabazz, would have no press statements until after the funeral Saturday.

He unlocked the steel doors of the headquarters in a former beauty shop in the Theresa Hotel in Harlem to admit me Tuesday night after a meeting of their organization for Afro-American Unity had been canceled.

"There will not be any meetings of our group this week," he said.

At the meeting hall three blocks away, also used by the Coptic church, a sign was posted announcing the meeting had been put off.

ACROSS EIGHTH AV. at the University Funeral Home, a line of about 300 mourners snaked around the corner

through police barriers, waiting to pay last respects to Malcolm.

Another meeting scheduled Tuesday night to raise funds for Malcolm's pregnant widow and four small children was called off, reportedly on police orders.

Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray and actor Ossie Davis had been announced as speakers at this meeting by the Federation of Independent Political Action.

Police security was tight after Sunday's murder of Malcolm in front of a crowd of 400 attending his weekly rally, and after Tuesday morning's bombing of rival Black Muslim Mosque 7 which Malcolm formerly headed. Both acts of violence occurred despite police precautions.

BUT THERE were no outward signs of tension around the Theresa, Harlem's corner for Black Nationalist and other orators. The street was deserted in the freezing evening.

Scattered late evening shoppers along 125th St. were discussing the Malcolm X murder, but there were no crowds except at the funeral home.

In the Theresa at 125th St. and Seventh Av., a few hangers-on idly watched television in the one-flight-up headquarters.

Shabazz was out of sight in an adjoining room.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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# Business as Usual At Muslim Cafe

BY BURLEIGH HINES JR.

It was business as usual at the Shabazz Restaurant, the immaculately kept South Side eating place owned by the Black Muslims, even though the restaurant could be a target for explosive action by the followers of slain Malcolm X.

The restaurant, at 616 E. 71st St., is a favorite dining spot for many of Elijah Muhammad's followers. And, in the past, it was served as a place for Muslim-called press conferences as well as for Muslim closed meetings.

It was in the Shabazz Restaurant several months ago that a brother of Malcolm X's, Philbert X, a follower of Muhammad's followers. And, in Malcolm for forming a rump

organization in opposition to the Black Muslims.

MANY OF THE "Fruit of Islam," as Muhammad calls his faithful, went casually in and out of the restaurant Tuesday during the luncheon hours. They were easily identified by their lapel buttons which bore the Muslim sign of the star and quarter moon.

Although it has been rumored that some of Malcolm X's followers, blaming the Black Muslims for his violent death Sunday in New York, were headed for Chicago bent on revenge, there were no guards in evidence around the restaurant.

The restaurant is perhaps one of the more successful ventures of the Black Muslims, catering not only to Muslims but to anyone. The place is for rent to private parties and specializes in Kosher food.

Other Muslim owned and operated businesses include a newspaper, laundries, groceries and a university.

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# Muslims Not— Linked to Islam, Ex-Aide Says

BY DAN MC CAUGHNA

A former member of the Black Muslims has described the Negro supremacist group as a semi-military organization with no real link to Islam or any other legitimate religion.

Aubrey Barnette, onetime Muslim leader in Boston, told a Chicago radio station audience that Muslims spend no time on religious instruction. Instead they teach karate and other methods of inflicting harm, he said.

Barnette said that the former Muslim leader Malcolm X may have been assassinated Sunday because he threatened to reveal that the Muslims are not a bona fide religion.

BARNETTE said there is no doubt in his mind that Malcolm X was killed by Black Muslims acting on orders from their leader, Elijah Muhammad, of Chicago.

Barnette was interviewed by phone Tuesday night on WBBM's Conference Call. Interviewers were Tom Clark of WBBM and reporters from The Daily News and Chicago's American.

Barnette phoned WBBM from his Boston hiding place where he has been secluded since his story "The Black Muslims are a Fraud" appeared in The Saturday Evening Post.

Barnette, a Boston white collar worker, was beaten and kicked by Muslim assailants shortly after he quit the organization.

HE SAID Muslim men are organized into a paramilitary group known as the Fruit of Islam. They use beatings and threats to force obedience from members, he said.

Barnette said Malcolm X, whom he met several times, had offered to testify in an upcoming court hearing here where the Muslim's tax-exempt status as a religion will come under fire.

A Stateville Penitentiary prisoner, Thomas Cooper, is expected at the hearing to charge that the state denies him his civil rights by not allowing him to practice his religion—Black Muslim.

BARNETTE predicted that

acts of violence to avenge the death of Malcolm X may come from these unofficial "friends" as well as from the Afro-American Union.

He added, however, that he doubted that there will be widespread Negro bloodletting as a result of the feud between Malcolm's followers and the Muslims because neither group commands the respect of a majority of Negroes.

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